

INSIDE:

**PULL-OUT GUIDE TO  
THE RNC PROTESTS**

**pens &  
permits**

**people &  
power**

# THE INDYPENDENT

Issue #54, August 12-25, 2004 • [nyc.indymedia.org](http://nyc.indymedia.org) • a free paper for free people



FOR UP-TO-THE-MINUTE COVERAGE OF THE CONVENTION AND PROTESTS:

**NYC.INDYMEDIA.ORG**

# what is THE INDYPENDENT?

We like to say *The Independent* is "a free paper for free people." No one owns it. We created *The Independent* with the knowledge that all New Yorkers have stories to tell and important perspectives to share. We are an open-membership paper that encourages people to become the media by reporting on their community and issues about which they care. We hold writing and reporting workshops regularly to provide people with the fundamentals of journalism.

We are part of a global network of community-based independent media centers, called Indymedia, which believes that news and information should not be packaged, bought, and sold for profit. Our democracy is dependent on a free exchange of ideas and news, but if what we read and watch is meant only to

make us buy more products, then we are not truly a free people. This critique is shared by millions of people across the world. There are currently more than 120 IMCs around the world. This paper is but one project within this network.

*The Independent* is put together by a variety of people who volunteer their time and energy to the project. We invite you to join us.

## Other Projects of the IMC

The New York City Independent Media Center also has a video team, which produces a weekly television show called *Blacked-Out Media*. Visit [www.nycimcvideo.org](http://www.nycimcvideo.org) for show times.

There is also a photo team, which curates community photojournalism shows in galleries around town, and a tech team that helps the Indymedia movement develop open-source and free software. The sound team has produced radio webstream programming and often records mp3s of local events and publishes them to the NYC IMC website. See <http://nyc.nysindy.org/sound>.

Our website has an open-publishing news wire that allows anyone with Internet access to immediately publish text, photos, audio or video reports. Furthermore, readers of any story can add comments, which allows for each story to inspire discussion and response. The power of the open-publishing has created a canvas on which newsreaders decide for themselves which stories to highlight, images

to portray, videos to project, and ultimately, which conclusions to draw.

## How Is Indymedia Planning to Cover the Republican Convention?

During the Republican National Convention, the GOP spin machine will make every effort to airbrush dissent out of the picture, or worse, paint them as dangerous and "Un-American." To this end, the Republicans have outfitted a post office as the corporate media's newsroom, and built a bridge from there to Madison Square Garden, so that the corporate press stays out of the streets, where the real story of the convention may emerge.

But Indymedia and the NYC Grassroots Media Coalition have a different mission. Hundreds of independent journalists are coming to town to challenge the version of events as put forward by corporate media. We will build our own newsroom with the support and resources of our own communities and use it to produce a daily television show, a 24-hour radio webstream, a website with up-to-the-minute reports and photographs and special, large-run issues of *The Independent*. If you want to know what people have to say, this is where to look.

In addition, the Gigantic Art Space gallery in downtown Manhattan will provide Indymedia space to showcase its work. On Aug. 19, you're invited to join us for our opening night at GAS to celebrate the tradition of independent journalism.

Indymedia photographers will showcase their work and make it available in a silent auction, videographers will screen their footage on the five gallery monitors, and you can tune into the iPod installations to hear historic radio coverage of past conventions from Pacifica Radio. This will be a great opportunity to find out how we plan to cover the Republican National Convention and how you can plug in.

## IMC PHONE NUMBERS

**HOTLINE**  
212.233.5767

**GENERAL**  
212.233.2907

**REGISTRATION**  
212.226.6762

## IMC WEBSITES

**TO REGISTER:**  
[www.nycgrassrootsmedia.org](http://www.nycgrassrootsmedia.org)

**TO READ/POST REPORTS:**  
[www.nyc.indymedia.org](http://www.nyc.indymedia.org)

## IMC ADDRESSES

**INFOSHOP & REGISTRATION**  
Gigantic Art Space  
59 Franklin Street  
between Bway & Lafayette

**INDYMEDIA NEWSROOM**  
220 Church Street  
13th floor  
between Worth & Leonard

**NOTE:** You must register at GAS before entering the newsroom. Locations are 5 blocks apart.

## IMC UNCONVENTIONAL TV

**AUG 29 10-11pm**  
**AUG. 30 - SEPT. 3 9-10pm**

**MNN (ch. 34 & 107)**  
**BCAT (ch. 35 & 68)**  
**FSTV (ch. 9415 Dish Network)**



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## WHAT IS INDYMEDIA? SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THE PAPER

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## DON'T MISS . . . . .

**AUG 14** Video benefit @ Volume  
8pm - 4am  
N13th & Wythe in Williamsburg  
**SAT** "The Freak Show"  
with *Leftover Crack*  
Premier of *The Miami Model*

**AUG 19** Independent Media Info-  
hop Opening Night  
@ Gigantic Art Space  
**THU** 8pm - Midnight  
59 Franklin Street btwn.  
Broadway & Lafayette

**AUG 20** "Dissent"  
Photography Show  
at The Brecht Forum  
**FRI** 6pm - 9pm  
122 West 27th Street,  
10th Floor

**CORRECTION:** Due to an editing error in the last issue of *The Independent* (#53), references in the p.7 story to a 12-foot-high fence being built around the Penn South co-op were inserted without attribution. The information came from an email circulating on various list serves and has not been substantiated. The information was inserted without the reporter's knowledge. *The Independent* apologizes to its readers and the reporter, Steven Wishnia.

## WHERE DO I GET MY COPY OF THE INDYPENDENT?

A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE

### BELOW 14TH ST.

**Times Up**  
49 E. Houston  
**Bluestockings Books & Café**  
172 Allen  
**Lotus Café**  
Clinton & Stanton  
**Tower Records**  
Broadway & E. 4th St.  
**Key Foods**  
Ave. A & E. 4th St.  
**May Day Books at Theater for the New City**  
155 First Ave. (btw 9th and 10th)  
**Kim's Video**  
3rd Ave. & St. Marks  
**Housing Works**  
126 Crosby St.  
**LGBT Center**  
213 W. 13th St.

**Chelsea Sq. Diner**  
23rd & 9th St.  
**Second Wave Laundrocenter**  
55th & 9th Ave.  
**58th St. Library**  
127 E. 58th St.  
**ABOVE 96th ST.**  
**Labyrinth Books**  
536 W. 112th St.  
**96th St. Library**  
112 E. 96th St.  
**Kim's Books**  
113th & Broadway  
**Strictly Roots Restaurant**  
123rd & Adam Clayton Powell  
**Green Chimneys**  
450 W. 145th St.  
**Fort Washington Bakery & Deli**  
808 W. 181 St.  
**Jumpin' Jalapenos**  
W. 207th St. (Between Bwy & Ver-milla)  
**Cafe Seven**  
7 Henshaw St.

### 14TH TO 96TH ST.

**Revolution Books**  
9 W. 19th St.

**BROOKLYN**  
**Flatbush Library**  
22 Linden Blvd.  
**Cortelyou Library**  
1305 Cortelou Rd.  
**Tillie's of Brooklyn**  
248 Dekalb Ave.  
**Green Apple Café**  
110 Dekalb Ave.  
**Marquet Patisserie**  
680 Fulton St.  
**Halcyon**  
227 Smith St.  
**Freddy's Bar and Backroom**  
Dean & 6th Ave.  
**BAM**  
30 Lafayette Ave.  
**Community Book Store**  
7th & Carroll Sts.  
**Tea Lounge**  
Union St. @ 7th Ave.

**Atlantis Super Laundry Center**  
472 Atlantic Ave.  
**Photoplay Video**  
933 Manhattan Ave.  
**Clovis Books**  
4th St. & N. Bedford Ave.  
**Jane Doe Books**  
93 Montrose Ave.  
**Make the Road by Walking**  
301 Grove St.  
**QUEENS**  
**Sunnyside Library**  
43-06 Greenpoint Ave.  
**East Elmhurst Library**  
95-06 Astoria Blvd.  
**Jackson Heights Library**  
35-51 81 St.  
**Friend's Tavern**  
78-11 Roosevelt Ave.  
**Langston Hughes Library**  
100-01 Northern Blvd.  
**Café Aubergine**  
49-22 Skillman Ave.

**Sunnyside Library**  
43-06 Greenpoint Ave.

### BRONX

**Bronx Museum**  
165th St. & Grand Concourse  
**The Point**  
940 Garrison Ave.

### JERSEY CITY

**Five Corners Public Library**  
678 Newark Ave.  
**Downtown Public Library**  
472 Jersey Ave.  
**Ground Coffee Shop**  
530 Jersey Ave.

If you would like to  
help distribute the Indy,  
call 212.684.8112





# Foul Air Fallout

BY MIKE BURKE

The smell will never leave me. Everytime I encounter plastic burning, I am taken back to those terrible weeks after the September 11 attacks. When the police recently resumed searching vans heading south of Canal Street for the first time since 2001, a part of me expected the smell to return with the searches.

For ten weeks that smell permeated the lives of the hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers who worked or lived downtown. Many woke up to the smell. Many more toiled through the workday breathing it in. While working downtown, I would face the smell coming off the train, during lunch breaks and after work. Sometimes when the wind was strong it would fill my office on Nassau Street. This didn't end until Thanksgiving.

All of us New Yorkers were collectively lied to about what we were smelling and how dangerous it was.

When liberal pundits examine the lies of the Bush administration too often they begin and end on the subject of Iraq. But as the GOP prepares to come to New York to celebrate the Bush/Cheney team, recall the words of Christine Todd Whitman:

"Our tests show that it is safe for New Yorkers to go back to work in New York's financial district," she said days after the attack.

But there were no tests – at least none that

would have told the government all was safe. Unlike on Iraq, the Bush administration can't try to blame this lie on faulty intelligence.

Only later did we learn scientists found the residue from the Twin Towers was as corrosive as drain cleaner. And that between 100 and 1,000 tons of polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons were released into the local environment. In fact, the city had never witnessed an incident that resulted in the release of more airborne toxins.

Months later, the EPA's Inspector General would admit, "National security concerns and the desire to reopen Wall Street played a role in the EPA's air quality statement."

And the media (just as in the build-up to the invasion of Iraq) largely bought the government's story.

One of the few exceptions in the media world was Juan Gonzalez, the crusading columnist for the *Daily News*. On Oct. 26, 2001 he published a front-page expose titled "A Toxic Nightmare At Disaster Site." I remember reading the story where I was working just blocks from the still-burning site. Then I learned what I had been breathing for the past six weeks: benzene, heavy metals, PCBs and other dioxins.

None of the other news outlets felt it was appropriate to warn readers about the danger. And government officials continued lying.

The media eventually caught on and would later reveal how the Bush administration pressured the EPA to rewrite press releases to



HENRY LU/INDYMEDIA

downplay the risks the burning site posed to New Yorkers.

But by then Mt. Sinai's Center for Occupational and Environmental Medicine had already treated 4,000 people left ill by the fallout. Hundreds of firefighters and cops went on disability after working at Ground Zero or the Fresh Kills landfill.

But the true fallout will not be fully known for years. How many years of our lives did many of us lose so Wall Street could reopen?

To the Republicans coming to our city later this month, I ask, was it worth it?

## GOP TO NYC: DROP DEAD!

Mayor Bloomberg said last November that the Republican National Convention provides a "chance for New York City to show its gratitude to President Bush and Vice President Cheney for all they have done for New York City."

*Nell Geiser, Maggie Gram and Timothy Sparkman examine what the Bush administration has really done for the Big Apple.*

### TAX CUTS: ENJOY YOUR MONTHLY CHEESEBURGER

According to Citizens for Tax Justice, New York State stood to gain about \$13 billion a year on average for six years from Bush's tax cuts. New York City residents account for about 40 percent of the state's contributions to the federal purse, which works out to \$5.2 billion a year in tax cuts. But one-third of the tax cuts goes to the top 1 percent. So the richest 81,000 New York City residents get \$20,988 a year from the tax cuts, enough to buy a luxury car. In contrast, the bottom 20 percent has to share a \$52-million pie. That works out to just \$32.10 a year for some 1.6 million people in Gotham City. Buy a cheeseburger once a month, you poor folks.

—T.S.

### THE ECONOMY: NY IS #1 (IN JOBS LOST)

The White House says we are in an "economic recovery." Statistics from June and July, however, show a slowdown in economic growth nationwide. New home and retail sales fell sharply in that period. The Consumer Price Index, which the Federal Reserve uses to measure inflation, has been climbing, while the unemployment rate has not fallen for three months. Payroll stats, excluding the farm sector, show just 32,000 new jobs in July, as opposed to the projected 200,000. There are 1.235 million fewer jobs now than in March 2001, making Bush the first president since Herbert Hoover to preside over a net loss of jobs. In addition, the economy must generate about 250,000 jobs a month just to absorb new workers entering the workforce. As for New York State, it's #1 among all states with 285,000 jobs lost under Bush. As of last December, unemployment in New York City was 7.8 percent, more than 30 percent above the national average. And a staggering 50 percent of African-American males in the city are unemployed.

—T.S.

### NO FOOD STAMPS FOR THE HUNGRY

Joel Berg of the New York City Coalition Against Hunger wrote to Bloomberg last year that "virtually every entity involved in charitable food delivery and advocacy work in NYC can recount numerous cases of people being denied the benefits to which they are eligible." More than 800,000 NYC residents the federal government deems eligible for food stamps are not receiving them. Federal funding for the New York City Housing Authority has fallen by \$175 million since 2001. Bush's 2005 budget intends to slash Section 8 public housing vouchers by \$107 million, a move even Bloomberg says will have "serious repercussions for the City of New York."

—M.G.

### THE GOP ON MINIMUM WAGE: \$5.15 IS HIGH ENOUGH

In July, Gov. George Pataki vetoed a bill to raise the state's minimum wage from \$5.15 to \$7.15 an hour. Pataki claimed: "a state-level-only increase would damage New York's business climate, and hurt our ability to create and retain jobs." But there is no evidence that minimum-wage increases hamper job creation. Besides, it seems unlikely that New York's gas-pumping, dish-washing and hair-cutting jobs will be farmed out to New Jersey. The Republicans are playing both ends against the middle – Pataki says a wage hike should happen at the national level, while Bush stated recently that raising the wage should be left to the states.

—M.G.

### NYC STUDENTS LEFT BEHIND

George W. Bush claims to be an education president, but is he? A report by Congressman Anthony Weiner shows that during the three years of the No Child Left Behind Act's existence, New York City has been shortchanged \$2.6 billion in funding promised by Bush. Even Bloomberg says as a result of the shortfalls, "more than 200,000 low-income students are being left behind." The new law gives "failing grades" to schools that don't increase their standardized test scores and allow their students to transfer. Yet in July, Schools Chancellor Joel Klein announced that transfers would be limited from more than 7,000 last year to less than 1,000 in the coming school year.

—N.G.

### BUSH'S WAR ON ISLAM

Bush says the war on terror is not a war against Islam, but the actions of his administration belie that. Following September 11, the Justice Department arrested hundreds of Muslim, Arab and South Asian men without charging them, and held them incommunicado at facilities like the Metropolitan Detention Center (MDC) in Brooklyn. Some MDC detainees filed a lawsuit citing systemic brutality, including instances where guards slammed detainees into walls and conducted strip searches without justification.

No detainees were charged with any crimes related to terrorism and many have been deported on minor visa violations. Even the independent inspector general's office of the Justice Department documented widespread abuse of the detainees by guards in the holding facilities.

—N.G.



# A GUIDE TO BUSH'S RECORD

## 10 THINGS REPUBLICANS BELIEVE

1. Being a drug addict is a moral failing and a crime, unless you're a conservative radio host. Then it's an illness and you need our prayers for your recovery.
2. A woman can't be trusted with decisions about her own body, but multi-national corporations can make decisions affecting everyone without regulation.
3. Jesus loves you, and shares your hatred of homosexuals and Hillary Clinton.
4. Group sex and drug use are degenerate sins unless you run for governor of California as a Republican.
5. Providing health care to all Iraqis is sound policy. Providing health care to all Americans is socialism.
6. Global warming and tobacco's link to cancer are junk science, but creationism should be taught in schools.
7. Saddam was a good guy when Reagan armed him, a bad guy when Bush's daddy made war on him, a good guy when Cheney did business with him and a bad guy when Bush needed a "we-can't-find-bin-Laden" diversion.
8. A president lying about an extramarital affair is an impeachable offense. A president lying to enlist support for a war in which thousands die is solid defense policy.
9. Using the September 11 attacks to launch disastrous wars is patriotic. Peacefully protesting those wars is un-American.
10. Government should limit itself to the powers named in the Constitution, which include banning gay marriages and censoring the Internet.

## WHY BAD THINGS HAPPEN

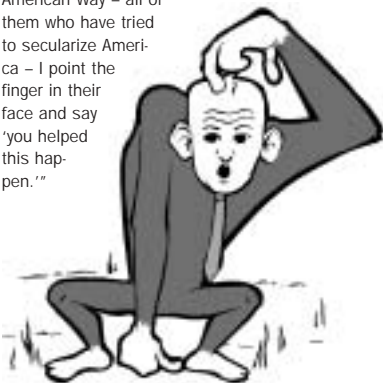
"America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world."

—Bush, September 11, 2001 Address to the nation, Whitehouse.gov

The most creative answer for the Columbine school shootings, as given by Republican Rep. Tom DeLay: "because our school systems teach our children that they are nothing but glorified apes who have evolutionized out of some primordial mud."

—E Magazine, May/June 2003

And Jerry Falwell giving his analysis of September 11: "...I really believe that the Pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians... the ACLU, People For the American Way — all of them who have tried to secularize America — I point the finger in their face and say 'you helped this happen.'"



## GIMME THAT OLD-TYME RELIGION

"We know who the homicidal maniacs are. They are the ones cheering and dancing right now. We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity."

—Ann Coulter, writing about the Sept. 11 attacks

"God told me to strike at al Qaeda and I struck them, and then he instructed me to strike at Saddam [Hussein], which I did, and now I am determined to solve the problem in the Middle East. If you help me I will act, and if not, the elections will come and I will have to focus on them."

—Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Abu Mazen quoting Bush when they met in Aqaba; reported in Haaretz by Amnon Regular

## THIS IS WHAT DEMOCRACY LOOKS LIKE

"If this were a dictatorship, it'd be a heck of a lot easier, just so long as I'm the dictator."

—Bush, Dec. 18, 2000 (One of three occasions since 1998 that Bush has publicly stated his preference for a dictatorship.)

"I'm the commander; I do not need to explain why I say things. That's the interesting thing about being the President. ... I don't feel like I owe anybody an explanation."

—Nov. 20, 2002, Bush to Bob Woodward, Washington Post.

"This is an impressive crowd — the haves and the have-mores. Some people call you the elites; I call you my base."

—Bush speaking at the \$800-a-plate Al Smith Dinner, NYC, Oct. 19, 2000, CBSNews.com

## SAVE THE EARTH

"If we are saying that the loss of species in and of itself is inherently bad — I don't think we know enough about how the world works to say that."

—Interior Department Assistant Secretary Craig Manson, appointed by President Bush to oversee the Endangered Species Act, Los Angeles Times, Nov. 12, 2003

"Just remember it's the birds that's supposed to suffer, not the hunter."

—George W. Bush, advising quail hunter and New Mexico senator, Pete Domenici, Roswell, NM, Jan. 22, 2004

"We need an energy bill that encourages consumption."

—President Bush, Sept. 23, 2002, Trenton, New Jersey, speech



## MADNESS OF KING GEORGE

In the Bush White House, the lunatics appear to be running the asylum. Some of the ideas coming out of the Oval Office seem to be the product of the mad and deranged. Here are our top picks.

**BETTING ON TERRORISM.** Why sit around and wait for a terrorist attack to happen when you can make a fast buck off it? This was the Pentagon's idea, which was killed after a public outcry. It wanted to create a "futures market" where traders would speculate on the probability of terror strikes — whether it be a car bombing in Saudi Arabia, an anthrax attack in D.C. or a backpack nuke in London. Supporters were technically right in saying such "decision markets" can be deadly accurate (excuse the pun), but so were critics who pointed out that these markets are highly susceptible to manipulation, possibly leading powerful interests to rig a terrorist strike like organized crime fixes boxing matches.

**DON'T GET FUCT, GET DUCT!** Worried about poison gas? Run out, buy some plastic sheeting and duct tape, and create a "safe room" to wait in while that chemical-warfare plume over your home dissipates. Never mind that it probably won't work, but Homeland Security's suggestion in early 2003 that Americans stock up on the sticky magic led duct tape sales to soar by more than 3,000 percent in some stores, according to Henkel Consumer Adhesives, a leading manufacturer. It's probably no coincidence that Henkel CEO John M. Kahl gave more

than \$100,000 to Republicans during the 2000 election cycle.

**"WE'RE GREEN (LIKE MONEY):"** Whether it's allowing more arsenic in our drinking water, mercury emissions in the air or strip-mining waste in our waterways, the Bush administration is fighting night and day to keep the gu'mint off the back of the poor businessman. But the White House's hard work doesn't stop there. Worried that defenseless corporations are being terrorized by U.N. scientists hopped-up on greenhouse gasses, Bush is denying that global warming is even happening and is calling for years of further study before we take action. If it's too hot, get an air conditioner!

**SON OF THE PATRIOT ACT RISES:** "Big government is a threat," say Republicans. Except when they're in control. Don't complain if John Ashcroft wants to declare you an enemy combatant and strip you of your citizenship, just some of the choicer provisions in legislation drafted by the Justice Department to "enhance" the USA Patriot Act. Terrorist lovers at the ACLU and elsewhere opposed "Patriot Act II" when it became public last year right before the invasion of Iraq, scuttling it. Not to worry! According to *Wired News*, Republicans are slipping provisions of the original legislation piecemeal into at least five other bills currently before Congress.





# We'll Never See Green

"We don't do politics in the Department of Homeland Security," says its chief, Tom Ridge. He was defending the decision to raise the terror alert to "Orange" just three days after the Democratic National Convention ended. This is the sixth time the Bush administration has raised the alert level from "Yellow" to "Orange" since the color-coded alert system was introduced in March of 2002.

## SEPT 10, 2002 - SEPT 24, 2002:

As America pauses to remember the first anniversary of the September 11 attacks, Tom Ridge raises the nation-wide alert level to Orange. President Bush tells reporters, "We have no specific threat to America... we're taking everything seriously." John Ashcroft notes that al Qaeda cells based in Asia "have been accumulating explosives since approximately January 2002 in preparation for these attacks."

On Sep. 24, Bush lowers the alert level back to yellow. Administration officials contend that the threat reduction results from the recent capture of several terrorism suspects in the United States and intelligence information that some of the danger had passed.

## FEB 7, 2003 - FEB 21, 2003:

On the eve of a massive, global day of protest against the pre-emptive U.S. invasion of Iraq, the Department of Homeland Security raises the national alert level to Orange. Intelligence reports "demonstrate al Qaeda's interest in carrying out chemical, radiological and biological attacks," Ashcroft tells reporters. A New York judge specifically cites the raised

alert level when supporting the city's refusal to allow United for Peace and Justice to march against the invasion.

Also in early February, Ridge announces the "Ready Campaign." Supported by a press blitz and public service announcements, the campaign urges Americans to assemble a terrorism kit that includes items like duct tape and plastic sheeting. Ridge says the tape and sheeting could be used to seal off a room in the event of a chemical or biological attack. "Stash away the duct tape - don't use it!" he concludes.

## MARCH 17, 2003 - APRIL 30, 2003:

Barely days before the start of the U.S. invasion of Iraq and only a month after the alert was last lowered, Ridge again raises the threat level to Orange. Attempting to link al Qaeda with Iraq in the American mind, Homeland Security notes that "while al Qaeda and those sympathetic to their cause are a principal threat, Iraqi state agents, Iraqi surrogate groups, other regional extremist organizations, and ad hoc groups or disgruntled individuals not connected to existing organizations or state agencies, may use this time period to conduct terrorist attacks against



MICHAEL ULRICH

BY CHRIS ANDERSON

the U.S., or our interests abroad." This time around, the alert level has a name: Operation Liberty Shield.

Trying to prove that the Iraq invasion has made America safer, the Orange Alert and "Operation Liberty Shield" are terminated on April 30, 2003 - one day before President Bush makes a triumphant landing on the USS Abraham Lincoln to declare "mission accomplished."

## MAY 20, 2003 - MAY 30, 2003:

Another month, another change in the terror alert level. Ridge argues that "the U.S. intelligence community believes that al Qaeda has entered an operational period worldwide." He further states, "Weapons of mass destruction, including those containing chemical, biological or radiological agents or materials, cannot be discounted."

On May 30, the alert level is again lowered; lasting only ten days, the latest change in the color is the shortest to date. CBS News Correspondent Jim Stewart provides us with this Orwellian gem to describe the mood inside the White House, "It's not so

much what has happened as what has not happened. I don't sense that their apprehension has dropped, but certainly their sense that anything imminent is about to happen is dropping." Glumly Stewart says, "We'll probably never see green."

## DEC 21, 2003 - JAN 7, 2004:

Tom Ridge raises the alert level to Orange just before the start of the Christmas travel season. Indications of a holiday al Qaeda attack "are perhaps greater now than at any point since September 11," Ridge warns. On the other hand, the Homeland Security chief advises members of the public to continue with their holiday plans. Biological weapons sensors are deployed around the Rose Bowl and Orange Bowl, and plume modeling tests, designed to detect possible chemical weapons, are conducted in New York-area tunnels.

No terrorist attack occurs, although America does experience its first confirmed outbreak of mad cow disease early in the holiday week. Republican House Member Christopher Cox tells *Newsweek* on Jan. 14 that the December alert was "useless."

# UNION SQUARE



YON MISHAL



ERSELLIA FERRON



IRINA IVANOVA



ERSELLIA FERRON



ERSELLIA FERRON



KATIE ORLINSKY

## practice your freedom

Come to Union Square. Join the dancing and the music. Get a free Hip Hop CD. Meet people, speak out, make out, hang out, lay on the grass, learn capoeira. Grab your old skateboard and come to show off. Sit on the stairs or rest on a bench. Pick up some chalk to color the plaza, bring your dog along to play in the dog run. At any given time there are numerous events, in a free community space at the center of a hectic city.

—NYC IMC photo team



EDGAR MATA

## NYPD PLANS TO CORRAL PROTESTS DESPITE PUBLIC OPPOSITION

# DON'T FENCE US IN

BY MAGGIE GRAM

On the night of Sept. 5, 1998, Sam E. Anderson attended a meeting of the Black Radical Congress to hear reports from that day's Million Youth March. The most striking testimony, Anderson remembers, came from a young man who had served in the Persian Gulf War.

As a U.S. Army soldier stationed in Iraq during the 1991 conflict, the young man had been assigned to guard prisoners of war. He was to herd Iraqis into corrals, he said — four-sided enclosures made of interlocking metal barricades — and to keep them there as U.S. gunships swooped low overhead. Once a group of prisoners had adapted to the open area inside a pen, the soldiers would change the configuration, disorienting them. Then the process began again. It was never quite clear to the prisoners how they'd gotten into the pens and whether there was a way to get out.

Anderson had been a legal observer during the Million Youth March in Harlem that day, and the pens had shocked him as well. In 40 years, as an activist with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and then a founding member of the Black Panther Party, Anderson had never been told he could only protest from inside a metal pen. But it wasn't until the soldier spoke that Anderson realized that these metal barricades were the new crowd control technology — prisoner-tested, military-approved.

Half a century ago, demonstrations in New York simply blocked traffic. Political demonstrations filled all available spaces between buildings. There were no emergency lanes or frozen zones.

During the sixties and seventies, the New York City Police Department began to use painted wooden horses, known as "blue ponies," to control crowds.

Blue ponies don't interlock and are easily moved aside, but sometimes even the wooden pens they formed caused the very incitement they were supposed to prevent. In 1985, Stephen Durham was a hotel worker and a member of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 6 when Manhattan's hotel workers voted to strike. Before the strike officially began, workers picketing outside hotels moved freely on sidewalks. But the minute the union announced the strike, the NYPD surrounded the picketers with barricades.

"Everyone was furious about being locked out," Durham says. "And then to be put in pig pens on top of that just gave us the motivation to take the streets."

After a day inside the pens, the workers broke out and took over Park Avenue, then 7th and 8th Avenues. They marched past the

hotels from which they were locked out: the Pierre, the Parker Meridian, the Hilton.

But the police continued to use wooden horses until 1995, when they began to purchase sets of steel barricades that made stronger, more effective holding paddocks. Supported by metal feet, the interlocking barricades have four-foot rectangular frames lined with vertical metal bars.

"Picture that," Anderson says, recalling the Million Youth March at which the steel pens were first put to mass use. "There you are: you're living in Harlem and you've got kids and you want to go home, the baby needs changing, the toddler needs feeding, you've got to go to the bathroom — and you can't. You can't leave that pen. You can't move."

Not until February 15, 2003 did metal pens create a real crisis for the City of New York.

On a day of global protests against the impending U.S. invasion of Iraq, the City forced United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ) to hold a penned-in rally instead of a march. The NYPD cut off access to 1st Ave., gave protesters conflicting directions as to how to get in and stopped people from leaving the pens. Tens of thousands never made it into the pens at all.

"Pens significantly limited the ability of protesters to move around, to form contingents, to enjoy the event, or even to participate in the event at all," says Christopher Dunn, associate legal director at the New York Civil Liberties Union.

Toward the end of the rally that day, a group of 75 to 100 protesters on 3rd Avenue commandeered a police truck carrying metal barricades and threw them into the streets.

Protest pens provide the police with the ability to monitor and contain dissent. (From the Feb. 15 protest alone, the police retain thousands of hours of videotape of activity inside the pens.)

In a deposition taken in June, Police Chief

Joseph Esposito, the highest-ranking member of the uniformed police force, said that pens provide "much more control over the situation." They also make potential violence more manageable, he noted: "It would be a lot easier to address a crime situation under this condition."

But what makes a political demonstration different than, say, a city parade? Marches for Dominican Day, Puerto Rican Day and Saint Patrick's Day often draw hundreds of thousands of people, but police allow free movement at those gatherings.

And when NYPD spokespeople say pens must be used to prevent injury among protesters jockeying for positions near the stage, what kind of events are they envisioning? As Brooklyn College Professor Alex Vitale puts it, "The NYPD treats demonstrations as if they were rock concerts ... No one has ever been crushed to death trying to get closer to Ralph Nader."

After the Feb. 15 event, the New York Civil Liberties Union assembled a lawsuit challenging the city's use of protest pens. And on July 16, the Second Circuit's Federal Judge Robert Sweet ruled in the suit by ordering the NYPD to change its pen policy dramatically.

"[T]he NYPD is enjoined from unreasonably restricting access to and participation in demonstrations through the use of pens," Judge Sweet wrote. "No particular action is required to be taken by the NYPD, although creating a larger number of openings which may be monitored by police officers may alleviate the problem."

Leslie Cagan of UFPJ says that the new barricaded areas will be just "a kinder, gentler kind of pens."

Dunn sees it differently. "What makes a pen a pen is its confining quality," he says. "If what you end up with is a bunch of barricades that people can move freely in and out of, then what you have isn't really a pen."



ANDREW STERN



# Who's Afraid of Protests?

No matter who wins the next election, the basic policies of the Bush regime will continue. The war will continue, prisons will stay packed at record levels, jobs with dignity will be scarce and the corporate media will stay in the hands of a few. Voting won't change who we work for or how much rent we pay.

The United States is a democracy only in the most formal sense. With two parties pushing to the right, what matters is what we choose to do, and not just on election day.



BY JED BRANDT

There was a time not so long ago when black men were called "boy" by white kids half their age. No piece of legislation wrote off centuries of white supremacy. Black people just stopped putting up with it, and many whites joined them with determination and love. What is now revered as the Civil Rights Movement was a cultural revolution whose main tool was direct action. It took Rosa Parks refusing to give up her seat on the bus, black students ordering lunch at the whites-only counter and everyday people marching until they trampled Jim Crow underfoot.

"Power concedes nothing without demand," said Frederick Douglass during the fight against slavery. "It never has and it never will."

Direct action is the most basic tool people have for drawing a line on what the government can get away with. By acting collectively, across communities and cultures,

protest is the voice of people shut out of the media, ignored by the politicians and disrespected by the police. No wonder the government treats it with such contempt. And no wonder hundreds of thousands are going to chase Bush out of town.

Forget about "speaking truth to power." Democracy demands that people make the world now as they want it to be. When African-Americans rose up against segregation, they didn't just ask for a change in laws or politicians. They started to live with dignity. They refused to let white racists tell them what they were worth and made a choice to live as free people.

Today, as then, the Democratic and Republican parties are united in defense of a system that is hostile to the vast majority of the world's people. Protest today is a demonstration of solidarity with the world beyond our borders, a claiming of democracy by direct participation.

When the streets fill with protesters during

the Republican National Convention, they won't just be sending a message to Bush – but to the entire world. While Bush says we're with him or "the terrorists," direct action creates another option: a world beyond fear and war.

Protest isn't just about "petitioning the government for redress of grievances," but creating new possibilities.

Despite public opinion polls showing that more than 80% of New Yorkers don't want the RNC staged here, the Bloomberg administration and Police Commissioner Ray Kelly have sought to limit what promise to be historic protests by threatening to pen them in steel cages. Add in the kaleidoscope of "terror alerts" crudely timed for psychological effect and the government's message is crystal clear: stay home, stay off the streets, let the police and army protect you from yourself – whether you want them to or not.

They seek to make protest itself the issue, as if the exercise of democracy was itself a pathology.

Policemen with machine guns and riot gear say they fear violence with no hint of irony while the government they protect wages war on every continent.

The greatest danger to freedom is not terrorism or the predictable corruptions of power. The real threat comes from the cynic that lives in every one of us. The voice that says everyone else is full of shit, that nothing can ever change and that everything will be easier if we stick our head in the sand, look out for #1 and wait for the storm to pass. It's not going to pass because the problems we face are not a force of nature. War, the everyday waste of capitalism and the loss of hope are the results of decision made by those with the power to decide.

Protest alone won't change the world. But it will change the game. The horrors of empire will continue exactly as long as we let them and not one minute longer. The first move is stepping in no to you in this



## IN BRIEF

### A WEEK WITHOUT POLICE: OUTER BOROUGHES PREPARE

With all the police paranoia about terrorism and protests, the real potential for chaos may come from more mundane sources.

On Aug. 4, while Bush and Kerry were both campaigning in Davenport, Iowa, three banks were robbed elsewhere in the city. According to Davenport Police Lt. Don Gano, the robberies were "coordinated" to take advantage of the security strain caused by the campaign stops.

Unlike Davenport's modest population of 100,000 people, New York City is home to 8 million. There are thousands of banks, jewelry stores, check-cashing usurers, pawn shops and electronics outlets throughout the five boroughs.

### PRESBYTERIANS VOTE TO DIVEST FROM ISRAEL

The annual General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has voted to divest from Israel and from many companies doing business in Israel and the Occupied Territories. With 3 million members, the Presbyterian Church is believed to be the largest U.S. organization or institution to divest from Israel. In a press release the church noted that "divestment is one of the strategies that U.S. churches used in the 1970s and '80s in a successful campaign to end apartheid in South Africa."

### FOR U.S. SOLDIERS, ONE MORE PERK OF WAR

Pushing the limits of the slogan "Be All You Can Be," the Army is offering free plastic surgery to U.S. soldiers and their immediate families, the *New Yorker* reports this month. Personnel in all four branches of the military can get nose jobs, breast enlargements, liposuction, and other elective cosmetic alterations – all on the taxpayers' dime. There is no limit on the number of cosmetic surgeries one soldier can have, although the commanding office must approve any time taken off for surgery. Between 2000 and 2003, military surgeons performed 496 breast enlargements and 1,361 liposuction surgeries on soldiers and their dependents. An army spokesman defended the program on the grounds that "the surgeons have to have someone to practice on."

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## F15: The World Said No to War

Before the lies of the Bush administration were exposed, when everyone was supposed to be *United We Stand* behind George W. Bush, the world was shocked to see hundreds of thousands rally in New York against the impending invasion of Iraq.

After all, it was the attacks on the World Trade Center that were supposed to justify aggression anywhere Bush and Rumsfeld said. The tabloids and broadcast news took turns bashing anyone who spoke up. White House Spokesman Ari Fleischer warned people to "watch what they say." Even the Dixie Chicks were suspect.

Despite Bloomberg's denial of permits to march by the United Nations, and police violence on the day itself, the Feb. 15, 2003, protests were the largest in decades and decisively showed the world that Americans were not united behind the war. In place of the fear that the government and media were promoting, New

York joined 600 cities around the world in saying no to the war. F15 was the day the Big Lie started to unravel.



"There may still be two superpowers on the planet: the United States and world public opinion." So wrote the *New York Times* the day after.

The numbers in the street made it impossible to pretend Bush's case for war was the will of the people. They didn't stop the war, but they did keep other countries out, break the media silence and expose the lies.

—JB

# Where Will They Sleep?

BY SANDRA C. ROA

New York's precious floor space is being sought by hundreds of thousands of protesters travelling to the city for demonstrations against the Republican National Convention (RNC). And many New Yorkers – who already live in cramped spaces – have offered to open their doors and clear their floors. Sympathetic hosts include activists, college students, progressive churches, art galleries and squatters.

"There's a lot in the Bible about hospitality that is a real important part of spiritual practice," says Rev. Earl Kooperkamp of St. Mary's Episcopal Church in Harlem, which has offered floor space for 50 people. Kooperkamp is working with the noRNC Housing Working Group to find congregations that are ready to "share New York with others in voicing dissent and dissatisfaction with the government."

Organizers have turned to the Internet for help. CounterConvention.org, with a list-serve of over 4000 people, has become a major site for individuals and groups seeking and offering places to stay. As of early August, CounterConvention.org's housing

board listed 915 spaces sought and 538 offered. Made up of about 20 volunteers, noRNC Housing has been tabling at events and cold-calling community centers and places of faith since March.

"The need is greater than the supply... housing is very critical with activists coming from long distances," said Debra Klaber of noRNC Housing.

Klaber says she will house a guest from Boston that she stayed with during the Democratic convention. Jim Macdonald of the DC Anti-War Network has been looking for floor space since May for about 150 people belonging to 15 Washington D.C. organizations. He has been volunteering with noRNC Housing in the hope that when a large space is offered he can house his own people too. Robyn Sklar, housing coordinator for visiting Green Party members, says things are going smoothly. "I haven't emailed anyone or had to make a phone call and have already housed a lot of people," she says.

Along with the many groups that are heading for New York, the city can expect to see a large number of individuals who have just recently become involved in the protest movement. Veteran organizers affectionately refer to fresh, unaffiliated activists like



**CRASH PAD:** Van Dell & Debra Klaber at the No-RNC Clearinghouse meeting taking names of people willing to house protesters. *PHOTO: SANDRA C. ROA*

not specifically an activist," is coming with her mother and friends. She found a place to stay in Brooklyn through counterconvention.org. She is saving her money to come to New York and even threatened to quit her job if she wasn't allowed time off. Paul Nocera of Brooklyn recently showed up at a noRNC Clearinghouse meeting to let people

apartments to protesters. A community of squatters that occupy a building in the Bronx has begun preparing a common area to host about 100 RNC protesters who may stay after the RNC is over.

## A Bed for the Night?

To offer housing for any length of time from Aug. 28 to Sept. 2, post to the housing board at CounterConvention.org. If offering/seeking large group accommodations of 15 or more, go directly to nyc-hospitality.org. If you have questions or would like to volunteer, email [rnchousing@yahoo.com](mailto:rnchousing@yahoo.com).

**FRI AUG 20 7PM**

**HUNTER ASSEMBLY HALL**  
695 PARK AVE  
AT 69TH ST

**BEYOND BUSH**  
AN EVENING OF VISIONARY RESISTANCE  
BECAUSE GETTING RID OF BUSH IS ONLY THE BEGINNING...

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**THE FOURTH WORLD WAR**





# THE PEOPLE'S GUIDE TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

NEW YORK CITY, AUG-SEPT 2004

WWW.RNCGUIDE.COM

## EVENTS

for more info: [www.nyc.indymedia.org](http://www.nyc.indymedia.org)

[see map on next page for event locations]

### PROTESTS & PUBLIC EVENTS

[###] Site number  
[A#] Grid coordinate

#### FRI AUG 20

##### Bike National Convention

Time's Up! bike space [523] • 49 E Houston St. • [www.timesup.org/bnc](http://www.timesup.org/bnc)  
August 20 – August 28, bike tune-ups, workshops, carnival, BBQ, tours

##### MOUTHS WIDE OPEN

Community Center open  
Washington Square Church,  
135 W 4th St (L6) • [www.mouth-swideopen.org/community.shtml](http://www.mouth-swideopen.org/community.shtml)  
Tu 1-3pm & 5:30-8pm, Th 1-6:30pm,  
F 5:30-10:30pm, Sa 4-10:30pm  
July 20–August 24

##### Beyond Bush: An Evening of Visionary Resistance

7p • Hunter Assembly Hall [703] • [www.lifeaftercapitalism.org/beyond-bush.htm](http://www.lifeaftercapitalism.org/beyond-bush.htm) • 212-817-8215  
featuring Naomi Klein, Robin Kelley, Michael Albert, Vijay Prashad

##### Rooftop Films: Youth Power

8pm • Hudson River Project [704] • [www.rooftopfilms.com](http://www.rooftopfilms.com)

##### Bike Messenger Film Festival

6:30pm • meet at Tompkins Square Park [406] to ride over Williamsburg Bridge (P8) 7:30pm • 184 Kent Ave, rm 509, Brooklyn (\*) • [www.nybma.com](http://www.nybma.com)

#### SAT AUG 21

##### Life After Capitalism Conference

CUNY Graduate Center [702] • [www.lifeaftercapitalism.org](http://www.lifeaftercapitalism.org)  
August 21 – August 22

##### "Yo! What Happened to Peace" poster exhibit

Stay Gold Gallery/Art Space 451 Grand St, Brooklyn • 718-599-7778 • [www.staygoldgallery.com](http://www.staygoldgallery.com)  
August 6 – September 5, Sa-Su 12-5p, M-F by appt only

##### The Really Really Free Market

3pm • St. Mark's Church 12pm – dark

#### SUN AUG 22

##### Yippie Tea Party Protest

8pm • Michael Bloomberg's town-house [269]  
refreshments served to protest the city's refusal to give out permits

##### New York Immigration Coalition action

location TBA • 212-627-2227 • [www.thenyic.org](http://www.thenyic.org)

#### MON AUG 23 – FRI AUG 27

##### Bushville Tent City and Homeless March/Encampment

Location TBA • [www.wkru.org](http://www.wkru.org)

#### AUG 23 – SEP 2

##### The Window Treatment

Everywhere • put a noRNC poster in your window through September 2

#### TUE AUG 24

##### Paula Revere's Ride

7p • Ride down Lexington warning, "the Republican's are Coming!" • Southeast corner of Central Park

##### "Peace Signs: The Anti-War Movement Illustrated" opening

7-9p • Chisholm Gallery [715]  
August 24 – September 3,  
open Tu-Th 11a-6p, F-Sa 1-6p  
8pm • Kick Off Party Webster Hall [701] 125E 11th St. • [www.howfestival.org](http://www.howfestival.org)

#### WED AUG 25

##### Call To Mutiny magazine launch

7pm • St. Mark's Church [904]  
[www.clamormagazine.org](http://www.clamormagazine.org)  
featuring Naomi Klein and David Rovics

##### The Summer of Love Concert for Equality

6-10pm • East Lane, Central Park (\*)  
[www.summeroflove04.com](http://www.summeroflove04.com)

##### Lower Manhattan Dumpster Tour

8:30pm An evening of biking and dumpster diving • Washington Square Park

#### THU AUG 26

##### DNC2RNC March Arrives in New York City

[www.dnc2rnc.org](http://www.dnc2rnc.org)

##### The Anti-Convention: Live Music

7pm • Warsaw, 261 Driggs Ave, Brooklyn (\*)  
proceeds donated to Not In Our Name

##### "The Fourth World War" film screening

multiple showings • Anthology Film Archives [710] • [www.bignoisefilms.com](http://www.bignoisefilms.com)  
August 26 – 29

#### FRI AUG 27

##### Ukes For Sanity

7pm • The Fez Under Time Café, 380 Lafayette St (M7) • [www.ukesanity.org](http://www.ukesanity.org)  
proceeds donated to United for Peace and Justice

##### Immigrant-Worker Community Speak Out!/Day of Action

4-10pm • St. Mark's Church [904]  
212-330-8172 • [www.ImmigrantSolidarity.org](http://www.ImmigrantSolidarity.org)

##### Critical Mass Ride

7pm • Union Square [404]  
[www.times-up.org](http://www.times-up.org)

##### The Anti-Convention: Live Music

7pm • Warsaw, 261 Driggs Ave, Brooklyn (\*)  
proceeds donated to Not In Our Name

##### Rooftop Films: Misunderestimated Films for the New Democracy

8pm • Clemente Soto Velez [711] • [www.rooftopfilms.com](http://www.rooftopfilms.com)

#### SAT AUG 28

##### Women Against War Concert

7pm • Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Dr at 120th St (\*) • [www.codepinkalert.org](http://www.codepinkalert.org)

##### Punk Rock Protest And Party

8pm • Southpaw, 125 Fifth Ave, Brooklyn (\*) • [www.clamormagazine.org](http://www.clamormagazine.org)  
proceeds donated to Indymedia

##### Books Not Bombs Youth Convergence

9am-6pm • St. Mark's Church [904] • [www.nyspc.net](http://www.nyspc.net)

##### New York March and Rally for Women's Lives

11am-4pm • Cadman Plaza (\*) across Brooklyn Bridge (S6) to City Hall Park [403] • [www.ppnyc.org](http://www.ppnyc.org)

##### Green Party Festival

St. Vartan's Park, E 35th St and Second Ave (H11)

##### Christian Defense Coalition

prayer vigil  
Seventh Ave (G8)

##### Middle East Peace Coalition demonstration

Union Square, southeast triangle [404]

##### Stone Walk arrives in Manhattan

212-598-0963 • [www.peacefultomorrow.org](http://www.peacefultomorrow.org) from Boston, pulling a 1400 lb granite memorial honoring the 'Unknown Civilians Killed in War.' In NYC through Sept. 11.

##### Ring Out

5:30-7:30pm • Ground Zero [401] • [www.ringout.org](http://www.ringout.org)

##### The Fourth World War film screening

7pm • Anthology Film Archives [710] • [www.bignoisefilms.com](http://www.bignoisefilms.com)  
presented by Amy Goodman

##### Women Against War Concert

7pm • Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Dr at 120th St (\*) • [www.codepink4peace.org](http://www.codepink4peace.org)

#### SUN AUG 29

##### "Crossing of New York Harbor"

Staten Island Ferry [591] • [www.greenedragon.org](http://www.greenedragon.org)

##### Women's Peace Rally and March

10am • Madison Square Park, 23rd Street and Fifth Avenue (I8) • [www.codepinkalert.org](http://www.codepinkalert.org)

##### followed by march to join World

Says No To The Bush Agenda rally

##### Bash Bush in Brooklyn concert

3pm-12pm • Cafe 111, 111 Court St, Brooklyn (\*)  
[www.bushbashinbrooklyn.com](http://www.bushbashinbrooklyn.com)  
proceeds donated to MoveOnPAC

##### Unity Ball

Downtime, 251 W 30th St (G7) • [www.stillwerise.org](http://www.stillwerise.org) • 212-860-6001  
proceeds donated to Still We Rise

##### Bike Bloc

11am • Union Square South

##### Mouse Bloc

4:30pm on • Actions against Broadway being attended by Republicans

##### "Reclaim the Park"

call for gatherings, feeder marches and creative events all across Central Park • morning

##### The World Says No to the Bush Agenda

10a • Massive NYC March and Rally on the Eve of the Republican National Convention.  
5th - 9th Ave. @ 14th - 23rd St.  
March steps off at noon (Q3)  
[www.unitedforpeace.org](http://www.unitedforpeace.org)

##### Marriage Mob on the Great Lawn w/ Rev. Billy

1pm • Central Park  
[www.revilly.com](http://www.revilly.com)

##### Youth and Student Feeder March

9am • Columbus Circle, 59th St. and Central Park West

#### MON AUG 30

##### The Naming Project

10a • various locations • [www.THAWaction.org](http://www.THAWaction.org)  
August 30 – September 2, reciting the names of all those killed by US military action since September 11

##### March on New York: Still We Rise march and rally

1-6pm • Union Square [404]  
up Eighth Ave to 31st St (G7)  
[www.stillwerise.org](http://www.stillwerise.org)

##### March for Our Lives: Stop the War at Home

4pm • United Nations, 45th St. and 1st Ave.  
[www.marchforourlives.org](http://www.marchforourlives.org)

#### TUE SEP 01

##### Interfaith Service

7pm • Holy Apostles Church [902]

##### Light Up The Sky

dusk to dawn • everywhere • [www.lightupthesky.org](http://www.lightupthesky.org)

##### Playback Theater Hip Hop Showcase

8pm • Southpaw, 125 Fifth Ave, Brooklyn (\*) • [www.playbacknyc.org](http://www.playbacknyc.org)

#### TUE AUG 31

##### Non-violent direct action

All day • In the streets... • [www.a31.org](http://www.a31.org)

##### Health Care Crisis and Election 2004 conference

9am • CUNY Graduate Center • [www.cnhpnw.org](http://www.cnhpnw.org) • Aug 31 – Sept 1

##### Pro-Choice New York rally

5-7pm • Union Square • [www.naral.org](http://www.naral.org)

##### The Republic in Ruins performance event

7pm • Washington Square Church, 135 W 4th St (L6) • [www.mouth-swideopen.org/republic.shtml](http://www.mouth-swideopen.org/republic.shtml)  
August 31 – September 2

##### Interfaith Worship Event

Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Dr @ 120th St

#### TUE SEP 01

##### Labor Day Rally

4pm • 8th Ave. and 30th St.

##### "The Unemployment Line"

8:13-8:31am • along Broadway, from Wall St (S3) to W 31st St (G8)a single line, everyone with a mock pink slip

##### Billionaires Flashmob

midday • midtown • [www.billionairesforbush.com](http://www.billionairesforbush.com)

##### Ellen Freudenheim anti-gun-violence display

Union Square Park, South Plaza [404]  
Labor Day Rally

4-6pm • 30th St and 8th Ave [G7] • [www.nyccic.org](http://www.nyccic.org)

##### Reading of the U.S. Constitution

5p • Cooper Union [719] • 212-420-0440 • [www.pfaw.org](http://www.pfaw.org)

##### National Organization for Women rally

7-9pm • East Meadow, Central Park • [www.now.org](http://www.now.org)

##### Billionaires' Ball

The Frying Pan, Pier 63 at 23rd St (G4) • [www.billionairesforbush.com](http://www.billionairesforbush.com)

#### WED SEP 02

##### Artists and Activists United for Peace rally and parade

3-7pm • Harlem State Office Building, 163 W 125th St and Adam Clayton Powell Blvd (\*) • parade to W 96th St and Central Park W

## IMAGINE FESTIVAL

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AUG 28 - SEP 2

[www.imagine04.org](http://www.imagine04.org)

THIS IS A FREE SPEECH ZONE!



New York is a town whose crowds—of which you are now a crucial part—have long been instruments of political progress. In the 1760s and 1770s, when Americans were required to pay taxes to a British government they had no voice in, locals gathered by the thousands on the Common, where City Hall now stands. One influential protest group in those days was the Sons of Liberty, who represented artisans, apprentices, seamen, and laborers. They were reviled equally by the British government and the American aristocracy. In 1765, when the New York Assembly complied with the British government's Quartering Act, requiring New Yorkers to house and feed British troops, one Son of Liberty published a broadside that said, "Every man of sense among us knows that the army is not sent here to protect but to enslave us." Sound like an army you know?

So, sons and daughters of liberty, thank you for your presence on the streets. New York is honored to have you as vital members of the crowd that will help oust King George from the White House in November. Welcome.

WWW.RNCGUIDE.COM







### LEGEND

Street Closures During RNC

Parks & Community Gardens

Useful Buildings

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"Public" Toilets

The Best Free Wifi Hotspots

PATH Train Stations (NJ to NY)

Subway Stations

Subway Lines

Republican Convention Events

Independent Media Bookstores & Infoshops

Delegate Hotels

Major Media

Police Stations

Legal Resources

Health / Hospitals

Landmarks & Parks

Libraries

Internet Access

Sanctuaries

Located off the map

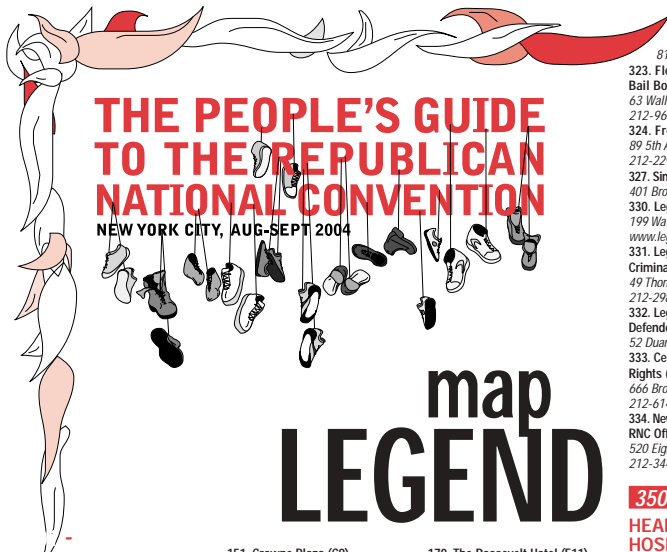
(\*)

1. 20 city blocks going North-South is equal to 1 mile.

2. Author Jack London once lived as a hobbit in City Hall Park.

3. New York City was briefly the U.S. capital from 1789 to 1790.





## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

**101. Madison Square Garden (F7)**  
4 Pennsylvania Plaza, 33rd St & 7th Ave  
212-465-6761 •  
www.2004nycgop.org  
August 30 10a-1p and 8:30p-11p,  
August 31 through September 2,  
8:30p-11p

## 102 REPUBLICAN VENUES

**102. Intrepid, Sea, Air & Space Museum (B6)**  
Pier 86, 12th Ave and 46th St  
212-245-0072 •  
www.intrepidmuseum.org  
**103. Lincoln Center ( \* )**  
140 W 65th St  
212-874-9021 •  
www.lincolncenter.com  
Includes Avery Fisher Hall, Alice  
Tully Hall, The Stanley H. Kaplan  
Penthouse.

**104. Carnegie Hall (B10)**  
154 W 57th St  
212-903-9600 •  
www.carnegiehall.org

**105. Rainbow Room (D11)**  
30 Rockefeller Plaza, 65th flr  
212-632-5100 •  
www.rainbowroom.com

**106. Penthouse Fifteenth**  
336 W 37th St, 15th flr  
212-871-0940 •  
www.penthouse15.com

**107. St. Regis (C12)**  
2 E 55th St  
212-753-4500 • www.starwood.com

**108. Tavern on the Green ( \* )**  
Central Park W and W 67th St  
212-873-3200 •  
www.tavernonthegreen.com

**109. Tiffany's (C12)**  
Fifth Ave and 57th St  
212-755-8000 • www.tiffany.com

**110. The Water Club Restaurant (I12)**  
500 E 30th St on East River (via  
East 23rd St)  
212-683-3333 •  
www.thewaterclub.com

**111. Cipriani's 42nd Street (F11)**  
110 E 42nd St  
212-499-0599 • www.cipriani.com

**112. Copacabana (E5)**  
560 W 34th St  
212-239-2672 •  
www.copacabanany.com

**113. Crobar (F5)**  
530 W 28th St  
212-629-9000

**114. Central Park Boathouse ( \* )**  
Park Drive North and E 72nd St  
212-517-2233

**115. Madame Tussaud's (E9)**  
234 W 42nd St  
800-246-8872 • www.nycwax.com

**116. Noche (C9)**  
6404 Broadway  
212-541-7070

**117. Bryant Park Grill (F10)**  
25 W 40th St  
212-840-6500 • www.bryantpark.org

**118. Time Warner building (A10)**  
10 Columbus Circle  
212-680-6500 • www.bryantpark.org

## 150 DELEGATE HOTELS

**150. InterContinental The Barclay New York (E12)**  
111 E 48th St  
212-755-5900 • www.new-york-barclayintercontinental.com

Hotel for delegates from NH

**151. Crowne Plaza (C9)**  
1605 Broadway  
212-977-4000 •  
www.ichotelsgroup.com

Hotel for NJ  
**152. Doubletree Guest Suites (D9)**  
1568 Broadway  
212-719-1600 •  
www.doubletree.com

Hotel for IL  
**153. Embassy Suites Hotel New York City (D2)**  
102 North End Ave  
212-945-0100 •  
www.newyorkcityembassysuites.com

Hotel for AR, ME  
**154. Helmsley Park Lane (B11)**  
36 Central Park South  
212-371-4000 •  
www.helmsleyparklane.com

Hotel for LA, SC, VA  
**155. Hilton New York (C11)**  
1335 6th Ave  
212-586-7000 • www.hilton.com

Hotel for PA, MI, FL, TX  
**156. Hilton Times Square (E8)**  
234 W 42nd St  
212-840-8222 • www.hilton.com

Hotel for MS, VT  
**157. Marriott Financial Center (S2)**  
85 West St  
212-385-4900 • www.marriott.com

Hotel for GU, HI, NE, ND  
**158. Millennium Broadway (D9)**  
145 W 44th St  
212-768-4400 • www.millenniumhotels.com

Hotel for WA, WV, WI  
**159. Millennium Hilton (R3)**  
55 Church St  
212-693-2001 • www.millenniumhotels.com

Hotel for RI, PR, UT, DE  
**160. New York Marriott Marquis (D9)**  
1535 Broadway  
212-398-1900 • www.marriott.com

Hotel for CA, OH, TN  
**161. New York Marriott East Side (E12)**  
525 Lexington Ave  
212-755-4000 • www.marriott.com

Hotel for CO, MN  
**162. Renaissance New York Hotel Times Square (D9)**  
714 Seventh Ave  
212-765-7676 • www.marriott.com

Hotel for MA  
**163. Park Central (B10)**  
870 Seventh Ave  
212-247-8000

Hotel for IL, KS, MD  
**164. Rihga Royal (C10)**  
151 W 54th St  
212-307-5000 •  
www.rihgaroyal.com

Hotel for NY  
**165. Ritz-Carlton (T2)**  
2 West St  
212-344-0800 • www.ritzcarlton.com

Hotel for GA  
**166. Sheraton Manhattan (C10)**  
790 Seventh Ave  
212-581-3300 •  
www.starwood.com/sheraton

Hotel for AK, IA, SD, VI  
**167. Sheraton New York (C10)**  
811 Seventh Ave  
212-581-1000 •  
www.starwood.com/sheraton

Hotel for MA  
**168. The Algonquin (E10)**  
59 W 44th St  
212-840-6800 •  
www.algonquinhotel.com

Hotel for DC  
**169. The Drake (C12)**  
140 Park Ave  
212-421-0900

Hotel for MA

**170. The Roosevelt Hotel (E11)**  
Madison Ave and 45th St  
212-661-9600 •  
www.theroosevelthotel.com

Hotel for AZ, NM, OK, OR  
**171. The Warwick (C11)**  
65 W 54th St  
212-247-2700 •  
www.warwickhotelny.com

Hotel for NC  
**172. W New York (E12)**  
541 Lexington Ave  
212-755-1200 •  
www.starwood.com/whotels

Hotel for AR, ME  
**173. Westin New York (D8)**  
270 W 43rd St  
212-201-2700 • www.westinny.com

Hotel for KY, MO

**300 POLICE STATIONS**  
**301. NYPD Headquarters (R5)**  
1 Police Plaza  
212-334-0611

Patrols City Hall, World Trade Center,  
Battery Park City and Wall Street  
**303. 05th Precinct (O6)**  
19 Elizabeth St  
212-334-0711

Patrols Little Italy, Chinatown and  
Brooklyn Bridge areas  
**304. 06th Precinct (K5)**  
233 W 10th St  
212-741-4811

Patrols W Houston to W 14th St,  
Hudson River to Broadway  
**305. 07th Precinct (O9)**  
19 Pitt St  
212-477-7311

Patrols Allen St to E Houston, up to  
the East River  
**306. 09th Precinct (N9)**  
321 E 5th St  
212-477-7811

Patrols E Houston St to E 14th St,  
East River to Broadway  
**307. 10th Precinct (I6)**  
230 W 20th St  
212-741-8211

Patrols Chelsea Piers, Fur District  
and Circle Line tours  
**308. 13th Precinct (K10)**  
230 E 21st St  
212-477-7411

Patrols Peter Cooper/Stuyvesant Town  
residential park and Gramercy Park  
**309. 17th Precinct (E12)**  
167 E 51st St  
212-826-3211

Patrols E 30th to E 59th St, Lexington  
Ave to East River  
**310. 19th Precinct (A14)**  
153 E 67th St  
212-452-0600

Patrols E 59th to E 96th St, 5th Ave to  
East River  
**311. Midtown North Precinct (B9)**  
306 W 54th St  
212-767-8400

Patrols W 43rd to W 59th St, 12th Ave  
to Lexington Ave, W 45th-E 45th Sts  
**312. Midtown South Precinct (E7)**  
357 W 35th St  
212-239-9811

Patrols 29th to 40th St, 9th Ave to  
Lexington Ave

**313 LEGAL RESOURCES**  
**313. Department Of Correction (P4)**  
60 Hudson St • 212-266-1414  
314. Criminal Court (O5)  
100 Centre St  
315. "The Tombs" Detention Center (O6)  
125 White St

**321. American Liberty Bail Bonds (O6)**  
81 Baxter St • 212-619-3030

**323. Fleetwood Agency Inc., Bail Bonds (T4)**  
63 Wall St  
212-968-9100

**324. Freedom, Bail Bonds (J8)**  
89 5th Ave  
212-229-2245

**327. Simon Agency Bail Bonds (P5)**  
401 Broadway • 212-680-1333

**330. Legal Aid Society (T5)**  
199 Water St • 212-577-3300  
www.legal-aid.org

**331. Legal Aid Society, Manhattan Criminal Defense Division (O4)**  
49 Thomas St  
212-298-5000 • www.legal-aid.org

**332. Legal Aid Society, Federal Defender Division (O5)**  
52 Duane St • 212-417-8700

**333. Center for Constitutional Rights (M7)**  
666 Broadway, 7th flr  
212-614-6464 • www.ccr-ny.org

**334. New York Civil Liberties Union RNC Office (F8)**  
520 Eighth Ave  
212-344-3005 • www.nyclu.org

## 350 HEALTH/HOSPITALS

**350. American Friends Laniado Hospital (E10)**  
18 W 45th St • 212-944-2690

**351. Beekman Downtown Hospital (S4)**  
170 William St • 212-312-5000

**352. Bellevue Medical Center, Medicaid, Prison Ward (J11)**  
462 First Ave • 212-562-4141, 212-679-7153, 212-562-4331

**355. Beth Israel Medical Center (L10)**  
First Ave at 16th St • 212-420-2000

**356. Cabrini Medical Center and Emergency Room (K9)**  
227 E 19th St • 212-995-6000

**358. Cornell Medical Center**  
525 E 68th St • 212-794-4000

**359. St. Luke's Roosevelt Emergency Room (A9)**  
W 58th St at Ninth Ave  
212-523-6800, 212-523-4000

**368. Saint Clare's Hospital (B8)**  
426 W 52nd St • 212-586-1500

**371. NYU Medical Center (I12)**  
30th St and 1st Ave  
372. St. Vincent's Hospital (K6)  
153 W 11th St • 212-790-1000

Emergency Room at 11th St and  
Seventh Ave  
**374. The Strang Clinic (G10)**  
55 E 34th St • 212-794-4000

**375. Veterans Administration Medical Center (K11)**  
408 First Ave • 212-686-7500

**376. Planned Parenthood (N7)**  
26 Bleeker St • 800-230-PLAN

**377. Eastern Women's Center (H9)**  
44 E 30th St • 212-686-6066

**378. Positive Health Project (E8)**  
301 W 37th St • 212-465-8305

Free HIV testing W 2:30p-4:30p  
**379. Streetwork L.E.S. (O8)**  
33 Essex St • 646-602-6404

Offers food, showers, supplies,  
laundry, hang-out space,  
counseling, needle exchange,  
medical, legal services and referrals  
for homeless youth ages 13-24,  
Tu-Th 2-9p, F 11-3:30p

**380. SAVI - Sexual Assault & Violence Intervention Program Mount Sinai Hospital ( \* )**  
One Gustave L. Levy Place  
(Park Ave near E 99th St)  
212-423-2140 •  
www.mssm.org/SAW/

## 600 INDEPENDENT MEDIA

**601. NYC Independent Media Center (H9)**  
34 E 29th Street, 2nd flr  
212-684-8112 •  
www.nyc.independentmedia.org

**602. Gigantic Art Space (O5)**  
59 Franklin St  
212-226-6762 •  
www.giganticartspace.com

**603. Manhattan Neighborhood Network ( \* )**  
537 W 59th St  
212-757-2670 • www.mnn.org

**604. Downtown Community TV Center (P5)**  
87 Lafayette St  
212-966-4510 • www.dctny.org

**605. WBAI Radio (T4)**  
120 Wall St  
212-209-2800 (office) 212-209-2900  
(studio) • www.wbai.org

**606. Paper Tiger Television (N7)**  
339 Lafayette St  
212-420-9045 •  
www.papertiger.org

**607. Independent Press Association (G8)**  
143 West 29th St, #901  
212-279-1442 •  
www.indypressny.org

**608. New Youth Connections (G7)**  
224 W 29th St, 2nd flr  
212-279-0708 •  
www.youthcomm.org

**609. Catholic Worker (N8)**  
36 E 1st St  
610. East Village Radio (O8)  
19 First Ave  
www.eastvillageradio.com

**650 BOOKSTORES & INFOSHOPS**  
**650. Oscar Wilde Bookshop (K6)**  
15 Christopher St • 212-255-8097

The world's first gay and lesbian  
bookstore  
**651. Revolution Books (J8)**  
9 W 19th St • 212-691-3345

**655. East West Books (K7)**  
78 5th Ave • 212-243-5995

**656. Gotham Book Mart (D10)**  
41 W 47th St • 212-719-4448

**658. Mercer Street Books (N6)**  
208 Mercer St • 212-505-8615

**659. Open Center Bookstore (O6)**  
83 Spring St • 212-219-2527 x108

**660. Shakespeare & Co. (M7)**  
716 Broadway • 212-529-1330

**661. Strand Books (L8)**  
828 Broadway • 212-473-1452

**663. Housing Works Used Books and Cafe (N7)**  
120-126 Crosby St • 212-334-3324

**664. 6th Street Community Center (O10)**  
638 E 6th St • 212-529-9720

**665. ABC No Rio (P9)**  
156 Rivington St • 212-254-3697

**666. Bluestocking Books (O8)**  
172 Allen St • 212-777-6028

**667. Brecht Forum (H8)**  
622 W 27th St, 10th flr  
212-242-4201 •  
www.brechtforum.org

**669. Mayday Books (M9)**  
151 First Ave • 212-777-8169

**670. St. Mark's Books (M8)**  
31 Third Ave • 212-260-7853

**671. NYU Medical Center (I12)**  
30th St and 1st Ave  
672. St. Vincent's Hospital (K6)  
153 W 11th St • 212-790-1000

Emergency Room at 11th St and  
Seventh Ave  
**674. The Strang Clinic (G10)**  
55 E 34th St • 212-794-4000

**675. Veterans Administration Medical Center (K11)**  
408 First Ave • 212-686-7500

**676. Planned Parenthood (N7)**  
26 Bleeker St • 800-230-PLAN

**677. Eastern Women's Center (H9)**  
44 E 30th St • 212-686-6066

**678. Positive Health Project (E8)**  
301 W 37th St • 212-465-8305

Free HIV testing W 2:30p-4:30p  
**679. Streetwork L.E.S. (O8)**  
33 Essex St • 646-602-6404

Offers food, showers, supplies,  
laundry, hang-out space,  
counseling, needle exchange,  
medical, legal services and referrals  
for homeless youth ages 13-24,  
Tu-Th 2-9p, F 11-3:30p

**680. SAVI - Sexual Assault & Violence Intervention Program Mount Sinai Hospital ( \* )**  
One Gustave L. Levy Place  
(Park Ave near E 99th St)  
212-423-2140 •  
www.mssm.org/SAW/

**681. Judson Memorial Church (M6)**  
55 Washington Square South  
www.judson.org

**683. ACT-UP New York (L5)**  
332 Bleeker St, suite G5  
www.actupny.org

**684. Asociación Tepeyac de New York (J5)**  
251 W 14th St  
212-633-7108 • www.tepeyac.org

**685. Communist Party Headquarters (H7)**  
235 W 23rd St  
212-989-4994 • www.cpusa.org

Reference Center for Marxist Studies  
(CPUSA library)  
**686. FIERCE (I4)**  
437 W 16th St, lower level  
646-336-6789 • www.fierceny.org

Transgender, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual,  
Two Spirit, Queer, and Questioning  
youth of color in New York City.  
**807. Gay Men's Health Crisis (H7)**  
119 W 24 St  
212-367-1000 • www.gmhc.org

**808. Good Of Lower East Side (N10)**  
525 E 6th St  
212-333-2541 • www.neighbor-  
hoodlink.com/manhattan/goles

**809. Green Party Office (S4)**  
139 Fulton St • 212-240-0501 •  
www.greenpartyoffice.org

**810. Henry Street Settlement (C10)**  
263, 265, 267 Henry St  
212-766-9200 • www.henrystreet.org

**811. Housing Works (J5)**  
320 W 13th St  
212-645-8111 •  
www.housingworks.org

**812. Jews for Racial and Economic Justice (G8)**  
135 W 29th St, #600  
212-647-8946 • www.jfrej.org

**813. Latino Commission on AIDS (O8)**  
24 W 25th St  
212-675-3288 • www.latinoaids.org

**814. AJ Muste Building (N7)**  
339 Lafayette St  
www.ajmuste.org

**815. Picture the Homeless (M6)**  
55 Washington Square South  
212-982-5947 • PictureTheHomeless@att.net

**816. Project Reach (O8)**  
1 Orchard St • 212-966-4227

**817. Restaurant Opportunities Center (P4)**  
99 Hudson St  
212-343-1771 • www.rocn.org

**819. United For Peace and Justice (E9)**  
209 W 38th St, 9th floor  
212-868-5545 •  
www.unitedforpeace.org

**820. Urban Justice Center (N7)**  
666 Broadway  
646-602-5600 • www.urbanjustice.org

**841. Washington Square United Methodist Church (L6)**  
135 W 4th St  
212-777-2528 • www.wsumc.org

**850. Castillo Cultural Center (N4)**  
500 Greenwich St  
212-941-5800 • www.castillo.org

**851. Chinese Information and Cultural Center (D10)**  
1230 6th Ave  
212-373-1800

**852. Educational Alliance (O8)**  
197 East Broadway  
212-780-2300

**853. Franklin H. Williams Caribbean Cultural Center and African Diaspora Institute (A9)**  
408 W 58th St • 212-307-7420

**854. Korean Cultural Service (C12)**  
460 Park Ave, Rm 600  
212-759-9550, 212-593-0742 •  
www.koreanculture.org

**855. The Tibet House Cultural Center (T7)**  
22 W 15th St  
212-807-0563 • www.tibethouse.org

**856. Pearl Paint (P5)**  
308 Canal St, Lexington Ave  
212-431-7932 • www.pearlpaint.com

**857. New York Central Art Supply (L8)**  
62 Third Ave • 212-473-7705  
www.nycentralart.com

## WOO THE BEST FREE WIFI HOTSPOTS

**W87. Veniero's Pastry Shop (M9)**  
342 E 11th St  
212-674-7070 •  
www.venierospastry.com/cafe.html

**W89. Rector Park (S2)**  
www.batteryparkcity.org/rector-park.htm

**W90. Liberty Plaza Park (S3)**



# WE CHOOSE THE WORLD

Five organizers talk about what's at stake  
and why to protest



## Tanya Mayo Not In Our Name Network

We are sending a message around the world that the people of the United States really are separate from our government.

Unlike in the year 2000 when Bush didn't run on a pro-war, pro-repression platform, now we've got Bush and Kerry both running on the right. They are promising a war without end and the potential for a draft. We need to be out there in massive numbers to say no to this whole agenda. If we don't put out a vision ahead of time

that ignites, then we won't actually reach our goal of more than a million people in the streets, a historic event that would put us in the best situation to go up against this repression and endless war regardless of who gets into office.

Within the movement, there seems to be resistance to putting out a loftier vision and to fight and work towards that vision. We've been reigned in by all this NGO thinking. A lot of people see action in the streets as a way to get Kerry into office. We see it as a way to raise the level of resistance and the spirit of the people to go up against this whole system in the coming years. For some that means ending the war. For others, stopping the attacks on the Arab and Muslim community or repealing the Patriot Act. But some of us think this system is rotten to the core.

## Jamie Moran RNCnotwelcome.org

If we kick their ass in the early part of the week, we're going to inspire people to come out into the streets and join us. People like winners. Getting your ass kicked and capitulating to whatever authorities tell you is not an inspiring model. Roving bike blocs, sneaking into events, wildcat marches – just harassing the shit out of the GOP delegates is going to create a mosaic of interesting, militant resistance. It will be a lot more than sloganeering and sign-waving.

We need to destroy the model of what "normal people" think of protest movements: all that sign-holding, standing around and chanting slogans. Give people a reason to be curious. We're going to make the Republicans so distracted by what we're doing that they will have a hard time taking care of business.

We are anarchists and for direct action, but we're native New Yorkers. There's this idea out there about these "rootless activists" floating from city to city causing trouble, but this situation is very different. New York City is so anti-Bush that there will be understanding and support for more confrontational tactics.

We'll communicate a message to the world that we're not a bunch of zombies standing behind Bush. People in other countries think we actually support the president. We're sending a clear message that New York's not standing with this. Even if that's all it is. We want the world to be a different place. We want NYC to be different. It's our duty to confront them. They're coming to our home turf.

## Jim Lesczynski Manhattan Libertarian Party

The LP is announcing, not organizing, a no-permit-required gathering for Central Park on Aug. 29 at the same

spot the city denied permits for UFPJ on the Great Lawn. We're going to protest this unprovoked, undeclared war in Iraq, the occupation that persists and the Patriot Act. Our point is that if you ask the government for permission to protest it, you deserve to be told no. The only permit we need is the First Amendment, which says we have the right to peaceably assemble.

We will not be participating in the RNC. We hate the Republicans. People associate us with the right, but the far-right disgusts us. We're totally opposed to this administration's foreign policy and civil liberties policy. We're about freedom and they're not.

## Graziela Tanaka New York City AIDS Housing Network, Still We Rise Coalition

Most of what we want is recognition; that people see the uniqueness of the Still We Rise Coalition. We are not just another general march, we are marching for all the specific issues and policies that impact low-income communities in New York City. All of the groups work on campaigns to change policies in five issue areas – Civil Rights/Criminal Justice, Housing and Homelessness, Healthcare and HIV/AIDS, Welfare, and Immigration.

We want to show the power of our communities marching and use that to build on our campaigns and achieve real, effective change. I feel like the media can protect us. If enough cameras are out there, the police are less likely to be violent. Right now, around 35 groups have signed on. We're pretty proud of that considering it's so hard to work in coalition in this city while trying to be effective on your own campaigns. I hope this will set a good precedent for collaborating in the future. We want to set a really good feeling for groups marching together because our work in coalition doesn't end August 30th, nor after the elections. The work goes on.

— Interviews by Jed Brandt

## Frank Morales Campaign to De-Militarize the Police, RNC Direct Action Working Group

This summer in New York will be the opening round of a revolutionary decade. That might be overstating it a bit, but I do feel that deep down people are sensing the need to exert their power. It may be that we need a radical solution to resonate with the depth of the problem. It's not enough to be dissatisfied. We want change and change is about power.

I'm not suggesting a clear ideology is motivating people. It's more of a soul movement. Any time we allow or witness or participate in the kind of atrocities taking place in Iraq, Palestine and around the globe we suffer a diminished humanity. Bush's crude and brutal leadership flaunts its sensibilities and acts as if it isn't – it all adds up to a sense that "life is becoming cheaper."

This is a violent world. TV is violent. There's a logic to it. This culture – the very air we're breathing – is killing people. We've crossed the line. It's a world historical moment with this guy coming in to pontificate among the burning embers of 9/11. Bush is blatantly trying to capitalize on what we went through. It's obscene. This coronation is illegitimate.

I'd like to see 20-30,000 people surrounding MSG on Aug. 29 and sitting down. Not only will we resist the attempt to repress our dissent, but we'll bring the ritual to a halt. I'm not suggesting we just walk into their jails. Strategic direct action isn't passive. If we're able to disrupt the proceedings non-violently through sheer force of numbers, we can create an opening that will last well beyond the RNC.

There's the power of working people to strike, to "slow down," to express their deep disagreements with what this administration is: more for the rich and less for the rest. All the movement's preparations for the RNC are about galvanizing the force that's already there. It just needs organization and clearly articulated demands.

We are facing a real police state. Lunatics are running the show with a pathology that they've set loose on the world. It is feeding people's sense of urgency. Let me put the NYPD on notice: we're not going to be afraid.

you will no longer be you,  
now you are us...

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**SUHEIR HAMMAD AND  
MICHAEL FRANTI**

# THE FOURTH WORLD WAR

"A powerful, radical cry from the frontlines of the war on people.  
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it is as beautiful and global as humanity itself."  
Naomi Klein, author of *NO LOGO*

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**AUG. 26–29 at the Anthology Film Archives: 32 East 2nd Ave @ 2nd St.**  
**PREMIERE: Aug. 26—Suheir Hammad Gives Her Word**  
**Aug. 28 — Amy Goodman joins the directors for discussion after the 7pm screening**



attack Afghanistan, John Kerry said, "Send Me!" When Bush looked for senators to make fraudu-

pink scarves that read, "Peace Delegate." Medea Benjamin from Code Pink was dragged off the floor of the convention by police for holding up a pink banner, reading "End the Occupation of Iraq."

## John Kerry as The Warchurian Candidate

lent claims about Iraq possessing weapons of mass destruction, Kerry said, "Send Me!" When the president looked for Senate approval to invade Iraq, Kerry said, "Send Me!" When Bush sought more support for Israel's apartheid wall, Kerry said, "Send Me!"

With all of the bashing of Ralph Nader for having the audacity to run for president and the Democrats continuing to blame him for Bush taking power, it is important to note that Kerry did not say, "Send Me!" when the Congressional Black Caucus needed one senatorial signature to reopen the question of the illegitimate 2000 elections.

The Boston convention was a meticulously orchestrated show. Speeches were vetted, the slightest anti-war message relegated to a non-primetime slot and party dissidents kept off the platform. But under the tons of confetti, balloons and printed signs cheering on Kerry, there was tremendous frustration and disillusionment among the 4,300 delegates inside.

Several polls indicated that 9 out of 10 delegates were anti-war. Yet, the vast majority of the speeches, particularly those given in primetime, did not reflect those sentiments. In their major addresses in Boston, both Kerry and John Edwards called for more U.S. troops and a doubling of Special Forces. Bush was not criticized for invading and occupying Iraq — he was bashed for how he did it. The message was, "Dems do war better."

So marginalized was the peace camp at the DNC that some Kucinich delegates had their signs confiscated or were told to remove their

That apparently was not one of DNC Chair Terry McAuliffe's approved messages for the day. Not one speaker at the podium inside the convention said anything about the razor-wired "protest pen" outside the convention that one federal judge called an "internment camp." There was no mention either of the camouflaged U.S. Army reserve soldiers around the convention's perimeter, patrolling bridges and train overpasses. So much for *posse comitatus*.

What is clear is that disgust and outrage at the Bush administration is so severe that the Democrats could field Mr. Potato Head and he'd get about as much support as Kerry.

This year could have marked a watershed moment in U.S. history. The Democratic Party could have run on a real anti-war platform with a real anti-war candidate who would stand a good chance of winning in November. The message to the world would have been significant. Instead, the hawkish Democratic leadership successfully pushed through a candidate out of step with the vast majority of his supporters who just want to end one of the most violent and repressive administrations in U.S. history. Such is the state of our democracy.

With John Kerry on the ticket, the Democrats have ensured a victory in November for the small but powerful pro-war special interest. Kerry is their sleeper, their private Manchurian candidate. They face a win-win scenario. Even if Kerry wins, the initial euphoria sparked by a Bush-free White House will eventually be replaced by this reality: no matter what Kerry and Edwards may have said from the podium in Boston, for most of the world neither help nor hope is really on the way.

Still, Kerry has won significant backing from many genuine progressives who are part of the "Anybody But Bush" movement. They argue that the work begins Nov. 3, once

Bush is out of office and Kerry, who is characterized as someone who will at least listen, is in power.

It's not that a Kerry administration wouldn't implement some significantly different policies from Bush's. But a Kerry victory will not bring significant change to the system.

After the defeat of Bush's father in 1992, Bill Clinton's policies paved the way for many of the international and domestic horror stories we now see unfolding. His devastating welfare-reform policy and his Omnibus Crime Bill were practically pulled from Newt Gingrich's playbook. Clinton's telecommunications policy, like George W. Bush's, supported further media consolidation. His 1996 anti-terror legislation paved the way for the Patriot Act. He presided enthusiastically over the most deadly regime of economic sanctions in history and began the longest sustained bombing campaign since Vietnam in the so-called "No-fly Zones" in Iraq. He scorned the United Nations and bombed Yugoslavia for 78 days.

Clinton attacked Afghanistan and bombed a pharmaceutical plant in the Sudan. He tightened the blockade against Cuba and pushed through Nafta, which sacrificed worker and environmental rights in favor of corporate profits.

During the demonstrations outside of the Fleet Center in Boston, protesters from the Black Tea Society set fire to a two-faced effigy of Bush and Kerry. Perhaps that message is not ready for most living rooms in the U.S. But in a few years, it could be prophetic.

## KERRY '71 AND KERRY '04

*John Kerry's views on the use of military power have flipped in the 33 years since his nationally televised appearance in April 1971 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as a spokesperson for the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.*

"Each day to facilitate the process by which the United States washes her hands of Vietnam someone has to give up his life so that the United States doesn't have to admit something that the entire world already knows, so that we can't say that we have made a mistake... We are asking Americans to think about that because how do you ask a man to be the last man to die in Vietnam? How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a mistake?"

"...[we are determined] to undertake one last mission — to search out and destroy the last vestige of this barbaric war, to pacify our own hearts, to conquer the hate and fear that have driven this country these last ten years and more. And so when thirty years from now our brothers go down the street without a leg, without an arm, or a face, and small boys ask why, we will be able to say 'Vietnam' and not mean a desert, not a filthy obscene memory, but mean instead where America finally turned, and where soldiers like us helped it in the turning."

— April 22, 1971

"Let there be no mistake: I will never hesitate to use force when it is required. Any attack will be met with a swift and certain response. I will never give any nation or international institution a veto over our national security. And I will build a stronger American military."

— Accepting Democratic nomination, July 29, 2004

## Democratic Convention By the Numbers

Number of law enforcement officers on the streets:	Number of protests that drew more than 5,000 people:	Estimated amount spent on security:	Number of protesters who could fit in the so-called free-speech protest pen:	Number of times the pen was filled to capacity:	Number of federal judges who compared the protest pen to an "internment camp":
5,000	0	\$40 million	1,000	0	1
Days after the DNC ended that the <i>Boston Globe</i> reported Boston police will keep searching subway passengers after the convention was over:	Amendment of the U.S. Constitution that the National Lawyers Guild charges the "random" searches violates:	Number of new surveillance cameras installed for the DNC that will now be moved to "high crime areas":	Amount Mayor Thomas Menino predicted the DNC would generate for the Boston economy:	Estimated amount of money Boston will lose because of the convention according to a study by the Beacon Hill Institute:	Days after the DNC that the <i>Boston Globe</i> predicted a major convention would never be held in a large urban area again:
2	4th	30	\$154 million	\$35-\$50 million	3
Estimated decrease in business at Boston restaurants during the DNC:	Percentage that auto mobile traffic fell in Boston during the DNC at 4 p.m.:	Percentage of delegates who never ventured into any of Boston's neighborhood besides the North End:	Number of customers in Monica's restaurant at 1 p.m. on Wednesday, July 28 during the DNC:	Days after the DNC ended that Mayor Menino offered a weekend of free parking, free concerts and discounted shopping to entice Bostonians back to their own city:	
70%	90%	25%	0	1	

SOURCES: *Boston Globe*, *boston.indymedia.org*, *Boston Phoenix*, *Washington Post*



# Upstart Runs Against Pro-War Dem

BY JOHN TARLETON

Rob Jerski has been a doorman, a garbage man, a toy salesman and a successful small businessman. He's been a tree-sitter high in the Oregon redwoods and been pepper-sprayed at IMF/World Bank protests. When I first met him two years ago, he spoke passionately about the importance of consensus process in activist movements and the significance for anarchists of France's May 1968 General Strike.

When I ran into him recently on an Upper East Side sidewalk outside the office of Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-NY), he was a Congressional candidate with a five-piece marching band, a red and gold tie, crisp white button down shirt and black loafers. I was happy for him. He had made the act of engaging in mainstream politics seem bold and original.

"I've always thought the issues are what's most important," he explains. "I have been looking for what's most effective in advancing a more commonsense agenda, something that's in touch with reality, not dogmatic."

Jerski, 36, most recently worked as National Environmental Coordinator for Dennis Kucinich's presidential campaign. In early June, he launched his own campaign to get on the ballot in the Sept. 14 Democratic primary. Maloney, Jerski's opponent, is a millionaire six-term incumbent who represents much of Manhattan's East Side as well as Astoria and Long Island City. Jerski criticizes her for voting for the Iraq War (which he was arrested five times for protesting) and the Patriot Act and authoring legislation that would allow the CIA to place its employees in local law enforcement agencies.

Jerski in turn supports Kucinich's proposal for a Department of Peace that would be funded by reallocating one percent of the annual military budget. He also supports universal single payer health care, strong environmental laws and a more equitable economy.

"When you meet a person who is in their early to mid-50s and they've changed careers twice and then suddenly their jobs are gone again. It just makes me so sad and outraged that a country as wealthy as ours is leaving behind so many good people who work hard and are trying to get by."

While Jerski opposed the war and calls U.S. efforts to remake the world by military force "short-sighted," he (like many of Bush's critics) is not ready to pull the plug on the occupation of Iraq. He instead calls for U.S. forces to pull back from Iraqi towns and cities as a part of a "staged withdrawal" that would coincide with moves to leave the Iraqis in full control of their natural resources.

During the Jerski campaign's first five weeks, two dozen volunteers gathered 2,160 petition signatures – with a little help from Michael Moore.

"People were grabbing petitions out of my hand," says Charlene Barker, who also blogs for the Jerski campaign. "You can't imagine how big a help it [*Fahrenheit 9/11*] was."

Jerski's attempt to work within the system received a blow Aug. 4 when a five-person team from Maloney's campaign challenged Jerski's petitions before the Board of Elections. Petition signatures in New York can be disqualified on any of 35 different grounds. By the end of a grueling four-hour hearing, Jerski's signature count had been lopped to 1,246, four less than the 1,250



**Below:** Rob Jerski gets blasted by pepper spray four years ago at an anti-IMF-World Bank protest while **Above:** he campaigns for Congress outside Rep. Carolyn Maloney's Upper East Side office.



PHOTO COURTESY OF FAIR.ORG

needed to appear on the ballot.

"They came in strong and really disrupted the thing," he says. "It felt like Florida."

Jerski has filed an appeal with the New York State Supreme Court that will be heard later this month. The day after his setback he was combing through a Board of Elections database trying to match up the information scrawled on his petitions with voter registration records. He was determined to find four more valid signatures or run in the fall as a write-in candidate.

"It's a lot of work. It's an uphill battle," he said. "But we can't abandon the electoral battlefield. They [the political establishment] wield so much political power and affect so much of our lives from what we pay in taxes to whether we go to war."

For more on the race in New York's 14th Congressional District, see [jerskiforcongress.com](http://jerskiforcongress.com) and [carolynmaloney.com](http://carolynmaloney.com).

## IN BRIEF

### THE OTHER REGIME CHANGE: THE U.S. & HAITI

Salon.com reports that the U.S.-funded International Republican Institute helped unite opponents of Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide's populist regime during recent years by funneling \$3 million to ex-leaders of Haiti's death squads, sweat-shop owners, and the nation's rural aristocracy. Recent reports also indicate that the U.S.-backed coup in Haiti has installed a reign of terror: human rights abuses and extra-judicial killings are rampant and the price of staple foods has doubled.

### FOR "FREE" IRAQ, NO FREE PRESS

Iraq's unelected government has established a new agency, The Higher Media Commission, to oversee and restrict critical media, including "unwarranted" criticism of Prime Minister Iyad Allawi. The commission was formed just before Allawi shut down Al-Jazeera's Baghdad office for a month in order to "protect the people of Iraq." Said Ibrahim Janabi, head of the new commission: "In a difficult security situation, we need to fight the terrorists by all means, and one of the main means is the media. We need them all to co-operate, even the private sector. It's for national security."

### DEATH AND REPRESSION IN THE OLYMPIC CITY

Between 40 and 150 construction workers building facilities for the Olympics have died in Athens due to poor safety measures, according to Amnesty International. City authorities are also reportedly rounding up homeless people, drug addicts, and mentally ill people and requiring that psychiatric hospitals lock them up. As the city welcomes Olympic athletes, inmates of Korydallos Prison and five other prisons have protested against the government's decision to stop authorizing parole during the games.

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photos

## IRAQ FROM WITHIN

To the general public, war has become defined by images fought out of sight and out of mind. To address this, *Daylight Magazine* put cameras into the hands of Iraqis themselves. Through these photographs, Americans can see first-hand how the people of Iraq have been affected by the conflict.

To see more pictures, purchase an issue or subscribe, visit [daylightmagazine.org](http://daylightmagazine.org)

Clockwise, from above: Hamed lives with more than 500 families in a garbage dump outside of Baghdad. Here his family smiles for the camera. PHOTO: HAMED HASAN SALMAN

"I am an Iraqi woman of 29 years old, working as an interpreter, living in Baghdad, very much upset about what is happening in Palestine and Iraq. Here my son Yussif (left) and his friend play with guns." PHOTO: ALAA KAMEL

Sadiq Mahdy (opposite page) moved to Baghdad to join relatives after the first Iraq war. He is currently jobless and lives with his family. His daughter, being held, was named Americas the day U.S. troops entered Baghdad. PHOTO: JASSIM MOHAMMAD

Procession carrying the body of Abass Jassim, who was killed in the war. PHOTO: JASSIM MOHAMMAD

# SADDAM WITH A SHAVE

## New Prime Minister Woos Iraqis by Shooting Prisoners

BY GREG GUMA

In case you've been living in a duct-taped bomb shelter, we're in the midst of a national dialogue about strength. It's central to President George W. Bush's public persona and a main argument for his effectiveness. Not to be outdone, his Democratic opponent, Sen. John F. Kerry, D-Mass., has done everything from riding a motorcycle to making "stronger at home" a campaign mantra to sell a muscular image.

Strength is also central to the image of the new Iraqi prime minister, Iyad Allawi, whom *Newsweek* described as "Iraq's New SOB," and has been lauded as a ruthless strongman in *The New York Times* and *Washington Post*. Locally, he's known as "Saddam without the mustache."

Of course, he's not the first bully boy to be embraced by over-confident US leaders or an obsequious press. Nicaragua's Somoza, Zaire's Mobutu, Iran's Reza Mohammad, the Philippines' Marcos, and many more have received similar kid glove treatment over the years.

But it is possible to be too strong? That's the prospect raised by unproven allegations that Allawi personally executed six prisoners in June, just a week before the handover of power by Coalition Provisional Authority head Paul Bremer.

The story, first published by the *Sydney Morning Herald* on July 17, was written by Paul McGeough, who got the details from two separately interviewed Iraqi witnesses.

Both insisted that Allawi shot the handcuffed and blindfolded men in cold blood, in front of U.S. military and Iraqi police witnesses, while visiting the Al-Amariyah security center in Baghdad.

He was sending a message, Allawi allegedly explained, and showing Iraqi police how to "deal with" the opposition. When British Prime Minister Tony Blair was asked about it, he dismissed the allegation as "odd" and called Iraq's new prime minister a "deeply humane person."

Despite the seriousness of the allegation, U.S. newspapers and networks avoided covering the story for almost a week. Some still haven't. Eventually, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Alissa Rubin did develop a follow up, but her July 22 report, "Iraq rumors reflect debate over need for a strongman," classified McGeough's story as one of several "urban myths" circulating about Iraq's new leader.

Her story ended with the bleak notion that many Iraqis are relieved and comforted by the impression the rumors about their prime minister have created.

If that's really true, here are a few more examples that ought to rouse cheers in Iraq's apparently bloodthirsty street. According to a July 11

*New York Times* feature by Dexter Filkins, Allawi cut off one prisoner's hand to make him confess about "terrorist" activities. In Filkins' view, this show of force demonstrated why Allawi is "the perfect man" to bring this "fractious country" together.

Citing CIA sources, the *Times* also has published reports that Allawi's organization, the Iraqi National Accord, conducted bombings that killed civilians during the 1990s. He was opposing Saddam at the time, after running Baath Party organizations in Europe during the 1970s. His group received financial support from Britain, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and, eventually, the CIA.

Before his June elevation, while chairing the Interim Governing Council's security committee, Allawi is also alleged to have recruited former torturers to serve in a new secret police apparatus. Of late, he has threatened martial law, shut down sections of the media, suggested the government might delay elections and moved to bring back the death penalty.

Although Rubin's story trivializes the murder rumor and downplays Allawi's brutal style, her survey of Iraqi opinion does raise an interesting point. Deeply divided societies, especially those frayed by violence, often question "whether democracy or dictatorship will best deliver the life people desire," as she suggests.

Before the invasion of Iraq, we heard that the United States needed to oust a tyrant and establish a democracy. Now the argument is that the unruly country needs a tough guy ready to impose martial law, ban protest and use secret police to "annihilate" opponents. In other words, a tyrant.

In the United States, both major party candi-

dates want to be seen as the real Iron Man. After 9/11, Bush morphed from compassionate conservative into "war president." In wartimes, stubbornness is sometimes confused with true strength and trumps values like individual liberty and human rights. For most Democrats, it nevertheless followed that choosing a war hero — their own strongman — was the best ticket back to the White House, even though many of them opposed the war and still yearn to end the occupation their champion ambiguously supports.

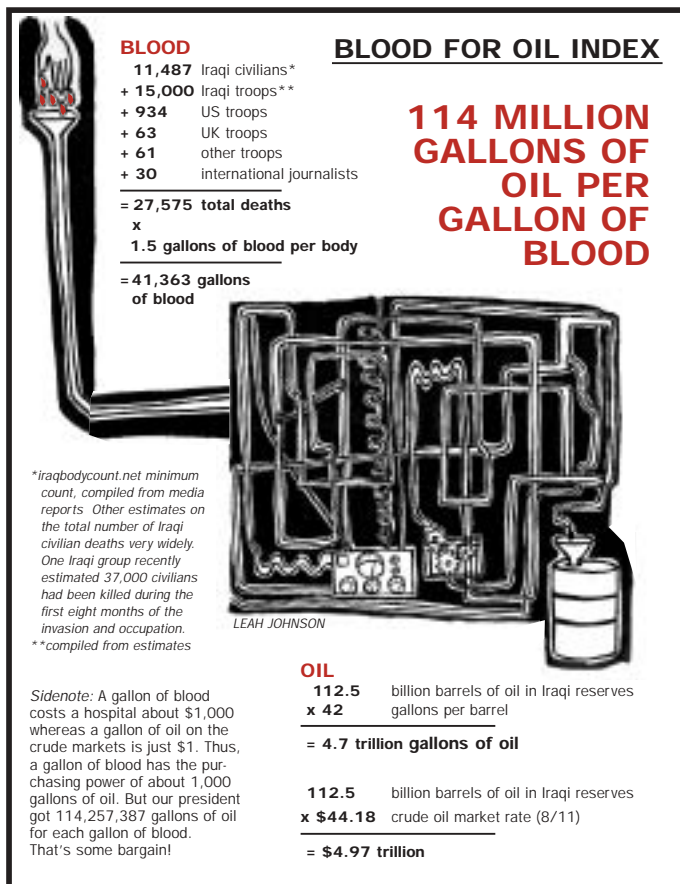
Like Iraq, does U.S. culture now equate strength with force? How many millions in this fragile democracy are comforted by the idea that their commander in chief is ready to "do whatever it takes?" Are policies like preemptive war and the abuse of suspected enemies merely knee-jerk reactions, or are they the fateful power plays of an arrogant superpower?

At the Democratic coronation, former President Bill Clinton argued that "strength and wisdom are not opposing values." Good line. But in politics, looking tough usually works better than sounding smart, and, in journalism, playing it safe too often wins over boldly seeking the whole story.

At this point, maybe the best we can hope for is a little more wisdom from our leaders and a bit more courage from the press.

Greg Guma is the editor of *Toward Freedom*, a Vermont-based world affairs magazine, and author of *Uneasy Empire: Repression, Globalization, and What We Can Do*. He can be contacted at [towardfreedom.com](mailto:towardfreedom.com).





## Fighting for Martyrdom

By GHAITH ABDUL-AHAD

In one of Najaf's oldest religious schools there were no classes to attend nor turbaned clerics to teach. Instead the old building, a few yards away from the main Imam Ali mosque, had been converted into a makeshift hospital and morgue.

In the hands of clerics, books and prayer beads had been replaced by AK-47 assault rifles. Wounded fighters lay on the floor, some with their backs against the walls. In one corner there was a pile of used, bloodied bandages, stretchers and rocket-propelled grenade launchers.

The transformation was the result of an intense three-day firefight between the Shia militia loyal to the rebel cleric Moqtada al-Sadr and the US marines, the worst violence in Iraq for months.

Soon the wounded were evacuated to the

rear lines and only the dead were left: nine bodies wrapped in blankets.

"Look," said the man running the hospital, "these are happy martyrs."

Most of the corpses had parts of their heads blown off, one was missing the upper left part of his torso and his skull. In Islamic tradition martyrs are buried exactly as they died, with the blood and the dirt from the battlefield covering them. It is believed there is nothing more pure than the blood of the martyrs.

All who entered the makeshift morgue looked at them with passion, as if this was something to be aspired to.

When one of the bodies was unwrapped, a fighter cried out: "Oh God, when did he die? We were together yesterday."

"Don't say that," said another. "He is the fortunate one. We are all here for that."

*This was excerpted from an article that appeared on guardian.co.uk*







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WBAI contingent at historic Feb. 19, 2003 Manhattan antiwar rally  
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# BANANA REPUBLICANS

BY SHELDON RAMPTON AND JOHN STAUBER

**I**m a uniter, not a divider," said George W. Bush during his 2000 campaign for president. "I refuse to play the politics of putting people into groups and pitting one group against another."

As Bush nears the end of his first term, however, evidence suggests just the opposite. According to the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "...political polarization is now as great as it was prior to the 1994 midterm elections that ended four decades of Democratic control in Congress."

The reasons for these deepening divisions

further solidifying the party's power at the national level.

Republican strategist Grover Norquist predicted in June 2003, "[Republicans] are looking at decades of dominance in the House and Senate, and having the presidency with some regularity."

The shift to Republican control has also extended the party's fund-raising advantage — "the mother's milk of politics."

With the same party controlling all branches of government, there has been minimal public debate over the policies of the current Bush administration, even as it has launched two wars, reversed long-standing policies on worker safety and the environment and cut taxes for the rich while 2.7 million private-sector jobs have been lost and the number of unemployed Americans has increased by more than 45 percent under its watch.

Republicans have developed techniques for suppressing voter turnout in minority communities or have used old-fashioned gerrymandering to effectively marginalize minority votes.

**The Permanent Warfare State**

The Republican Party's successes have not come quickly or easily. For more than four decades, conservatives have worked to build a network of grassroots organizations and think tanks that formulate and promote conservative ideas.

Unhappy with what they regard as the "liberal bias" of the news media, they have attacked from both the outside and the inside, building their own, unabashedly conservative media such as talk radio and Fox News at the same time that they have systematically set about promoting the careers of conservatives within the mainstream media.

But they have also understood that politics involves more than dominating the news cycle or influencing public opinion, and they have not hesitated to use hardball tactics. Blacks and other minorities consistently vote Democrat, so in response, Republicans have developed techniques for suppressing voter turnout in minority communities or have used old-fashioned gerrymandering to effectively marginalize minority votes.

Notwithstanding their stated aversion to "big government," Republicans have not hesitated to expand government powers in precisely those areas that are most threatening to individual freedoms, through the USA Patriot Act and other measures that authorize spying on citizens and detentions without trial.

If politics is merely the continuation of war, then war becomes the norm, and peaceful politicking becomes simply a temporary maneuver aimed at gaining battlefield advantage. The political arts of compromise, negotiation, dialogue and debate — even culture itself — become mere weapons with which to destroy your enemies. And since war is the norm, there is no need to worry about whether to start one. War already exists, and the point is simply to win or at least keep fighting. Treating politics as war may be an effective way to win power, but it has rarely succeeded as a philosophy for wise governance.

*Adapted from the introduction to Banana Republicans. [www.PRwatch.org](http://www.PRwatch.org)*

are not hard to find. The voting system that brought Bush into office was seriously flawed, and he presided over an unsteady economy, soaring budget deficits, tax cuts that primarily benefit the wealthy, some of the worst business scandals in U.S. history and a devastating terrorist attack. These conditions seem to present an opportunity for serious reconsideration of America's course in the early 21st century, and yet during the first three years of the Bush presidency, little serious public debate could be heard.

This situation reflects the organizing strategy of "movement conservatives" in the Republican Party. They hold views and long-term objectives that are to the right of mainstream public opinion, but have managed to maneuver themselves into a position of control over nearly every branch of the American government. Politics for them is not a debate. It is, quite literally, a "war by other means."

**The Fight Club**

In practice, Republicans have achieved victory upon victory. The 2000 elections gave the Republican Party the White House, a razor-thin majority in the U.S. House of Representatives and a 50-50 split in the U.S. Senate. By 2002, the GOP consolidated control of the House and achieved a majority in the Senate. It already controlled the Supreme Court, with Republican appointees comprising seven of the nine justices who sit on the court. This gave the Republican Party majority control of every branch of the federal government for the first time since 1932.

The Republican dominance in the U.S. Supreme Court and its control of the Florida governor's mansion helped give Bush the White House in 2000. Increased power at the state level has also enabled Republicans to push through electoral redistricting in several states,



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JED BRANDT

Keeping power the old-fashioned way

## Steal This Vote

By RAY MCGOVERN

**P**re-election period... pre-election plot... pre-election threats... These rolled off National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice's lips no less than seven times Aug. 8 on CNN's Late Edition as she discussed the likely timing of a terrorist attack.

Dr. Rice said the government had actually "picked up discussion" relating to "trying to do something in the pre-election period," and added that information on the threat came from "active multiple sources."

I found myself wondering if those sources are any better than those cited by Attorney General John Ashcroft on May 26, when he launched this campaign, citing "credible intelligence from multiple sources that al-Qaeda plans an attack on the United States" before the November election. Ashcroft's warning came out of the blue.

In support of his warning, Ashcroft cited "an al-Qaeda spokesman," who the FBI later was embarrassed to admit is "The Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigades." Sinister sounding though the name may be, this "group" is thought to consist of no more than one person with a fax machine, according to a senior U.S. intelligence official.

Are the recent warnings and heightened alerts legitimate or contrived? Is this yet another case of "intelligence" being conjured up to serve the political purposes of President Bush and his top advisers? The record of the past three years gives rise to the suspicion that this is precisely what is afoot.

While Iraq generally has moved off the front page, those paying attention to developments there have watched a transition from mayhem to bedlam in recent days. Worse still, the U.S. economy is again faltering as the election draws near. Perhaps most worrisome of all from the administration's point of view are the fresh photos, film footage, and other reporting of torture in U.S.-run prisons in Iraq and elsewhere that will surface in the coming weeks.

When John Ashcroft fired the opening shot in this campaign to raise the specter of a "pre-election" terrorist event, it seemed to me that the administration might be begin-

ning to prepare the American people to accept postponement or cancellation of the November election as a reasonable option.

Tom Ridge's warning in early July that Osama bin Laden is "planning to disrupt the November elections" added to my concern, as did: word that Ridge has asked the Department of Justice to analyze what legal steps would be needed to permit postponement of the election; the request by the Director of the Election Assistance Commission for Ridge to provide "guidelines" for cancelling or rescheduling the election in the event of a terrorist attack; the matter-of-fact tone of a recent vote on CNN's website: "Should the United States postpone the election in the event of a terrorist attack?"

That the House of Representatives on July 22 passed a resolution by a 419-2 vote denying any agency or individual the authority to postpone a national election suggests that many in Congress are taking the various trial balloons and other hints seriously.

If the president's numbers look no better in October than they do now, there will be particularly strong personal incentive on the part of the president, Rumsfeld and Vice President Cheney to pull out all the stops in order to make four more years a sure thing. What seems increasingly clear is that putting off the election is under active consideration - a course more likely to be chosen to the extent it achieves status as just another option.

Earlier this month I listened to a reporter asking a tourist in Washington, D.C., whether he felt inconvenienced by all the blockages and barriers occasioned by the heightened alert. While the tourist acknowledged that the various barriers and inspections made it difficult to get from one place to another, he made his overall reaction quite clear: "Safety first! I don't want to see another 9/11. Whatever it takes!" I was struck a few hours later as I tuned into President Bush speaking at a campaign rally in Michigan: "I will never relent in defending America. Whatever it takes."

*A longer version of this article appeared on anti-war.com. Ray McGovern (rmcgovern@slschool.org) worked as a CIA analyst for almost three decades. From 1981 to 1985 he conducted daily briefings for Ronald Reagan's vice president, George Bush.*

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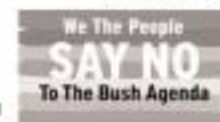
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# REVIEWS

## CULTURE, POLITICS AND CRITICISM

### Neutralizing Neo-Conservatives

#### RESURRECTING EMPIRE

BY RASHID KHALIDI  
BEACON PRESS, 2004

Many American policy hacks assert that American intervention in the Middle East is necessary to pull the region out of its stagnant morass of autocracy, corruption and fundamentalism.

This claim is thoroughly deconstructed in Rashid Khalidi's new book, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*. One of America's leading Middle Eastern scholars, Khalidi occupies the Edward Said Chair of Arab Studies at Columbia.

In *Resurrecting Empire*, Khalidi shows how the fantasies of the cabal in Washington – hatched in think-tanks like the American Enterprise Institute – are “grounded in willful

ignorance and misinterpretation of the history, politics and culture of the Middle East.” Because of this, argues Khalidi, America's unilateral effort to change the Middle East was doomed before it even began.

Khalidi arrives at this conclusion through a sweeping, tragic, yet unflinchingly thorough historical narrative chronicling over two hundred years of foreign intervention and colonialism in the Middle East. Khalidi recounts numerous episodes in which British, French, and later, U.S. power snuffed out fledgling democratic, constitutional movements, while using the same rhetoric of liberation that we hear today. And when they have not been exercising direct imperial authority, Western nations have cultivated “weak states” whose citizens remain dependent on corrupt dictatorships committed to feeding the Euro-American appetite for oil and geo-political control.

Khalidi takes pains to point out that a history of poor leadership –

from Arafat to the Saudi royal family – are also responsible for the lack of social reforms and democratic institutions in many Middle Eastern countries. But democratization never can come from the barrel of the occupier's gun.

A genuine Middle Eastern democracy would be strongly nationalist and populist, and quite possibly inhospitable to American interests. And while the United States steps into “the boots of the old colonial powers,” it inherits a decidedly imperial dilemma: “the irresolvable contradiction between the imperial center's need for control... and the irrepressible desire of the peoples of the Middle East to throw off that control.” Rather than delivering liberation, the American involvement in Iraq has painfully opened another chapter in the Middle East's long history of resisting foreign occupation.

— Ishaan Tharoor



### Toby Keith and the Beating, Bleeding Heart of Red State America

I am a country music fan. I grew up in a so-called red state in the heartland of America. It's a place where country radio stations are so plentiful that they must distinguish themselves by playing bluegrass and country classics, among other sub-genres. It's a place where American flags line streets backdropped by vacant and rusting factories, where people eat red meat and go to evangelical Christian churches. It's a place on the front lines in the cultural wars against Northeastern latte-liberals.

Or so say the pundits.

Then I moved to Brooklyn, where on any given summer Sunday I hear the sounds of a popular salsa radio station's “Coco clasicos” from stereos in apartment windows and bodegas.

Families barbecue to the sounds of hip hop and Lil' John's hit song elicits laughter after some teenager does his best imitation of Dave Chappelle's “Whhat?...Yeeeah!”

There is no country music in Brooklyn. New York's last country radio station vanished from the city a couple years ago.

Maybe it migrated back down south. When Bush campaigns in Dixie and the heartland, his warm-up music is often country songs.

Thanks to Toby Keith and company on Music Row in Nashville, the President has a smorgasbord of patriotic country songs to choose from. Keith's last album, “Shock N' Y'all,” is a word play on Bush's “Shock and Awe” campaign that features an anti-Taliban song and a ballad celebrating American soldiers.

Keith's previous album included a song, “(Courtesy of the Red, White and Blue) The Angry American,” that is a call to arms: “Justice will be served and the battle will rage/This big dog will fight when you rattle his cage/You'll be sorry you messed with the U.S.A./Cause we'll put a boot in your ass/It's the American way.”

The song ruffled ABC anchor-men Peter Jennings and he nixed the countryman's appearance on an ABC 4th of July celebration two years ago. “I find it interesting that he's not from the U.S.,” Keith said two years ago of Jennings, who is Canadian. “I bet Dan Rather would let me do it on his special.”

Though Keith is the chief of country music's pro-war cheerleading squad, he is not alone. Lesser talent Darrell Worley sings a defiant song that praises the Iraq war and trumpets the Bush administration's (debunked) claim of a Saddam-al Qaeda connection. Dolly Parton boosted more than her career with some religious/patriotic songs, and Lee Greenwood (“God Bless the U.S.A.”) has emerged from the land of Indian casinos to hawk patriotic CDs on late-night country television.

For his part, Keith is boastful about his ties to the troops and President Bush. Soldiers carrying out the Shock and Awe campaign named bombs and tanks after his songs. Keith himself has whipped up crowds before Bush speeches. And for doing his patriotic duty, Keith is raking it in. Last year, CD and concert sales earned him 45 million patriotic American dollars.

But for all his conservative rhetoric, Keith – a meaty Okie – outed himself last month as a registered Democrat. And when asked, Keith is not so gung-ho about the war in Iraq as it might seem. “This war here, the math hasn't worked out for me on it,” he told the *Los Angeles Times* recently. “But I'm smart enough to know there's people smarter than me. Condoleezza Rice, Colin Powell, George Bush – this is their job, and I have to trust in them.”

Country's not all pro-Bush. A group called Music Row Democrats is raising money for Kerry. Kerry himself is using country music in his campaign stops to appeal to red-

### WE TOOK THE STREETS

‘FIGHTING FOR LATINO RIGHTS WITH THE YOUNG LORDS’  
A NEW HISTORY BY MIGUEL MELENDEZ

In 1969, trash lay strewn throughout El Barrio's streets. The city didn't pick it up for long periods. Responding to the city's neglect of Spanish Harlem, the Young Lords and community members swept a five-foot high wall of trash along 3rd Avenue and lit it ablaze. Their first offensive was a success. In *We Took the Streets, Fighting for Latino Rights with the Young Lords*, Miguel “Mickey” Melendez goes on to talk about his group's other triumphs and also its downfall.

Along the way the Young Lords challenged authority – even organizing their own clandestine militant wing – and politically energized the New York Puerto Rican community. Melendez's life is intertwined with the Young Lord's Party and the struggle of Puerto Ricans in New York City. He speaks candidly about both as the narrative moves seamlessly from encounters with salsa legends to the violent gangs of one of the city's most marginalized neighborhoods. — BB



blooded Americans. Venerable progressive Steve Earle has titled his forthcoming CD *The Revolution Starts Now*. Song titles include “Rich Man's War” and “F the CC.” Willie Nelson is critical of the war, and even Merle Haggard of “Okie from Muskogee” and “Fightin' Side” fame is questioning it. Both of Haggard's songs were written during the Vietnam War and contrasted shaggy haired hippies to Okies who “still wave Old Glory down at the courthouse.”

The Dixie Chicks, a native Texan country act that has a running spat with Toby Keith, will take part in the Vote for Change tour. The late October tour's goal is to push swing states towards Kerry.

Joining the Dixie Chicks on that tour will be rocker Bruce Springsteen, who explained in a *New York Times* op-ed his decision to enter electoral politics.

“These questions are at the heart of this election: who we are, what we stand for, why we fight,” he wrote. “This year ... for many of us the stakes have risen too high to sit this election out.”

— Bennet Baumer

### Let the Eagles Soar

It could be a dream band at the RNC: John Ashcroft on vocals and Condoleezza Rice on piano. Cameos by Orrin Hatch and Trent Lott.

Ashcroft may be best known for “Let the Eagle Soar” (featured in Fahrenheit 9/11) but our Attorney General has many more tunes up his sleeve. In the 1970s, when he was Attorney General in Missouri, he released a cassette titled *In the Spirit of Life and Liberty*. Later he would release the tape, *Gospel (Music) According to John*.

And then there is the now defunct Singing Senators, the all-star GOP quartet featuring Ashcroft, Trent Lott, Larry Craig and James Jeffords. The band has been dealt a couple setbacks of late: Ashcroft lost his Senate seat to a dead man and Jeffords jumped the GOP ship.

Why Orrin Hatch was not a member of the Singing Senators is beyond me. The Utah Republican's website [hatchmusic.com](http://hatchmusic.com) sells nine different CDs including such titles as *Now His Glory Shines* and *Put Your Arms Around the World*. Songbooks are available too! Teach the kids the hits of Orrin.

— Mike Burke